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THE CIVIL AND CONSTITUTIONAL

HISTORY OF ROME

FROM ITS FOUNDATION

TO THE AGE OF AUGUSTUS.

29950

BY HENRY BANKES, ESQ.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

On ne peut jamais quitter les Romains: c'est ainsi qu'encore aujourd'hui dans leur capitale on laisse les nouveaux palais pour aller chercher des ruines.

ESPRIT DES LOIX, xi. 13.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1818.

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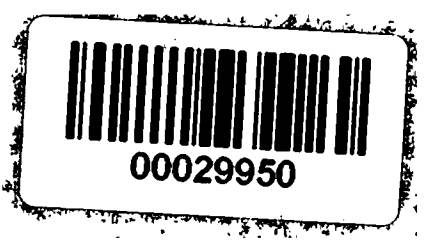

PRINTED BY BENSLEY AND SONS,
Bolt Court, Fleet Street.

CHAPTER XV.

Tiberius and Caius Gracchus.

The year of the destruction of Numantia was memorable for a tragical scene at Rome, in which Nasica, another of the Scipios, was the principal actor, setting the first example of civil discord carried to its most outrageous excess, and ending in the effusion of blood. The dreadful precedent was too soon followed by other heads of parties, who without the same good intentions towards the public, or so plausible an excuse, sacrificed to their own vengeance avarice or ambition some of the best men who ever adorned their country.

The bad times of the republic were at hand: the violence of sedition, the ungovernable selfishness of faction, a relaxation of principle, a dereliction and contempt of the old Roman maxims and institutions, and a general depravation of morals sprung up,

Ch. XV. and made their great shoot soon after this period.

619. Bef. Xt. 133. The turbulent tribunate of Ti. Gracchus, which opened a series of dissensions fatal to himself and his brother, and almost equally injurious to their country, is traced up to the resentment which he harboured against the senate on account of the harsh censure passed upon the capitulation signed at Numantia, to which he was so principal a party: and if his actions are to be ascribed only to such unworthy motives as those of revenge, Gracchus certainly could have pursued no line of politics more congenial to sentiments of animosity against that order which offended him. But would it be unreasonable to suppose that an enlightened and capacious mind called early to the administration of great affairs, and full of devotion to the cause of freedom; that a young statesman, entertaining the highest pretensions and the justest hopes, and endowed with abilities and eloquence (which were in both the brothers not only eminent, but transcendent) might conceive a rational desire to invigorate and renovate the commonwealth, by drawing it back

towards its first principles of equality and moderation? Ch. XV.

The vast territorial acquisitions, and the immense plunder which was drawn from such extensive victories, could not be without peril to a free government: the admiration and influence which began to attend large estates and superior wealth threatened those main pillars of virtue and frugality, upon which alone such a government can rest. It is true, that to reform abuses which were grown inveterate, and to revive laws at no period well observed, and long since fallen into disregard, required not only a strong, but a cautious hand: nor was it perhaps practicable by any means which could then have been devised, to maintain things in so unnatural a posture as the politics of Gracchus aimed at; which was, in effect, to leave the republic in the uncontrolled indulgence of that system of spoliation by which she had risen, but at the same time to expect that individuals should remain without catching a single spark of the same spirit, insensible to the desire of wealth or the charms of superfluity, and that they should be content to lead the lives of Curius

Ch. XV. and Fabricius, in the midst of the plunder of the universe.

It was not so much the agitation of agrarian laws which loosened and convulsed the frame of the commonwealth, as the extreme inequality of fortunes, which made every question of that sort a watchword for division and tumult: the real danger to liberty consisted in the political power which followed wealth, during the last century of the republic, and in the general corruption which it diffused throughout the higher as well as the lower orders.

With the extension of foreign dominion a continuation of military command was unavoidably connected; which became a more immediate cause of hazard to the continuance of the commonwealth, than all the disorders occasioned by the refusing or granting of agrarian laws. It was indeed an evil inseparable from the pursuit and acquisition of distant territory; against which no regulations, except such as limited all foreign conquests, could have provided: but the disorders arising from the other source might perhaps, if attended to earlier, have not only admitted of some remedy,

but have been converted into a mode of drawing off the superabundant and needy population from the capital. A turbulent multitude would have been removed, if they had chosen to emigrate; and those who refused to take lands at a distance (as it happened in the old case of Antium) would have had one main cause of complaint and excuse for sedition removed. Ch. XV.

The revival of the antiquated regulation of Licinius Stolo, limiting the possession of each individual to five hundred acres, and an agrarian division of the surplus among the poorer citizens, was the foundation of the grand project of Ti. Gracchus; but he coupled it at first with a mild and temperate modification; for instead of obliging the rich to refund whatever surplus they had acquired in disregard of the law, he proposed that the public should pay them a fair price for all that exceeded the legitimate quantity; meaning also, as he professed, to extend the regulation so far as to allow an additional number of acres in respect of every child. There were some principal leaders of the senate, who countenanced this proposition; of which the conformity to the constitution

CH. XV. was sufficiently apparent, whatever the policy might be of bringing it forward.

The great body of the aristocracy had recourse, as upon many former emergencies, to the tribunitial power itself for protection; leaving no means untried to create a division within that formidable college. In effect, they gained one of Gracchus's colleagues, M. Octavius Cæsina, to interfere, and to forbid putting the obnoxious law to the vote. Remonstrances and entreaties were used in vain by the popular party, to overcome his opposition. Cæsina remained immoveable; and not another step could be taken in advance, without a violation of the tribunitial power. But great reformers sometimes think themselves better gifted to make new laws than to observe old ones; and upon this memorable occasion, the champion of the ancient constitution, rather than abandon his project, resorted to the violent and illegal measure of depriving his colleague of his office by a vote of the tribes, and choosing another tribune in his room.

After all obstruction was in this questionable manner removed, the law passed; but the modifications were forgotten or omitted:

and three commissioners were appointed, of whom Gracchus himself and his young brother Caius, were two, to make an inquisition and division of the forfeited lands. The will of Attalus king of Pergamus was published in the same conjuncture, who had bequeathed his kingdom and property to the Roman people; and this furnished the tribune with another less exceptionable fund out of which the wants of the poorer class might, without dispossessing any one, be relieved. The management of this great accession of territory was accordingly vested in the people by a special law, and taken out of the hands of the senate. Another law of Ti. Gracchus divided the judicial power between the senatorian and equestrian orders, which had been antecedently confined exclusively to the former. *Ch. XV.*

With a view of conciliating the Italian allies, Gracchus gave them hopes that they should be admitted to the full privileges of Roman citizens; a boon to which both equity and prudence gave them an unquestionable title: but the selfishness of exclusive possession always opposes the extension and participation of prerogatives

Ch. XV. and immunities. The very existence of Rome was in fact hazarded not many years afterwards upon the refusal of this fair communication of civil rights, when the Roman arms after the most tremendous struggle had indeed the nominal triumph; but it became necessary to make a full concession to the vanquished of the point in dispute.

Gracchus by the line of politics which he pursued had made himself an host of enemies; some threatened him with public accusation; but he dreaded still more the private vengeance of others, when he should be no longer protected by the inviolability of his office: it therefore became his great object to secure his election for another year, and to have his brother for one of his colleagues.

The particulars of the tumult which arose during this election, though the fatal catastrophe is sufficiently ascertained, are not very distinctly related: it is difficult to account for the delay, or the adjournment which appears to have taken place, or for that sort of hesitation and indecision which was shown by the popular candidate and his

associates. The senate became inflamed; and caught up eagerly every calumny which was fabricated to his prejudice; and it is probable that some few among them believed what many of them joined in propagating, that he was endeavouring to usurp absolute power. The senators are represented as having been the aggressors in the affray in which these commotions terminated: and Scipio Nasica led them on. No sooner had they forced their way into the assembly, than a numerous body of their clients and dependents joined them: the benches in the forum were torn up, and converted into bludgeons; and Tiberius, falling down in endeavouring to make his escape, was despatched by one of these wooden weapons wielded by the hand of Nasica himself. 619.

Ch. XV.

Some others fell in the tumult; and the bodies of all were indiscriminately thrown into the Tiber. No accusation was preferred before the people, against the author of this very questionable homicide; but some writers say that the senate acquitted their leader. It is possible that a vote of approbation might have been passed; but it is indisputable that the senate was never

Ch. XV. legally a court of criminal jurisdiction for the trial of such an offence.

While the tranquillity of Rome was thus endangered by her own citizens, a war in Sicily, occasioned by an almost universal insurrection of the slaves against their masters, destroyed the principal inhabitants, and desolated the face of that fertile island for about six years, which after the failure of four pretors, and the defeat of their armies, re-
620. quired two consuls, Piso and his successor Rupilius, to put an end to it. Florus ascribes the merit of terminating this contest to Perpenna, and relates that an ovation was granted to him in consequence: but according to the Capitoline marbles, Rupilius had that honour; and Perpenna was not consul in that year.

The multitude of persons in a state of slavery was dreaded as a growing grievance in Italy, while it was so severely felt in Sicily: the lower classes of freemen were thrown out of employment, and found it difficult to gain a subsistence, owing to the labour of slaves being much cheaper, and not liable to be called off, or interrupted by conscriptions for military service: but

considered in another more important point of view, the slaves formed a most dangerous body in the heart of the commonwealth, powerful in bodily strength, dissatisfied with their lot, and ready at all times to rise upon their taskmasters. Gracchus used to complain of their excessive number, as interfering with the natural employment of the Italian allies, detrimental to the military force and the recruiting of their armies, and generally as tending to keep down the free population of Italy; but he does not seem to have suggested any direct remedy. Perhaps a limitation of the number of slaves might have been in his contemplation as a proper regulation to accompany the reduction of the size of estates; or he might trust to the latter for producing in its natural course the diminution which he wished for. In later days, when taxation became necessary, this source of wealth and luxury was resorted to as one of the fairest and most obvious means for raising money; so that a large revenue might be levied upon those best able to pay it; and a salutary regulation at the same time established, which would operate indirectly in

Ch. XV. favour of the laborious and inferior class of citizens.

An unexpected and active enemy started up in the newly acquired territory of Pergamus, and disputed for a time the disposition which Attalus had made by will; his name was Aristonicus, a natural son of Eumenes, who gained with surprising ease possession of the whole kingdom; but after defeating the consul, proconsul, or pretor, P. Licinius Crassus who lost his life in captivity, he was obliged to surrender himself, and his chief city Stratonica in the
622. following year to the consul M. Perpenna.

C. Gracchus, the survivor of the three original commissioners for the distribution of lands, had for his colleagues, when the regulation was to be carried into full effect, C. Papirius Carbo and M. Fulvius Flaccus.

The extreme insecurity of all landed property during the agitation and operation of the new allotment could not fail to draw after it all those inconveniencies disputes and vexations to which a forcible taking away from those in possession, for the purpose of conferring upon those who had

nothing, naturally led. Where so wide a range for partiality was opened, it was hardly possible that equal dealing should be extended over every transfer: and even if it were, the losers were sure to complain, together with no small proportion of the gainers also, who might suppose that their neighbours had acquired better land than themselves." Inquiries were set on foot with regard to the original titles under which lands were held, the conveyances by which they were acquired, and the old marks by which they were bounded: and this compulsory process of ejecting or exchanging, odious as it must have been under the most judicious management, was rendered still more intolerable by the rage for total change and radical reform with which it was executed. *Ch. XV.*

The populace which thronged the forum were at all events to be gratified before all others; which was not done, and perhaps could not have been done, without raising a general spirit of discontent among the Italian allies, whose estates were seized upon, and subdivided without the least regard to their remonstrances. A law like that

Ch. XV. of Stolo, calculated exclusively for Rome, and binding only upon Roman citizens, was brought into action against those who were not governed by the Roman municipal law, nor restricted by their own code to any limited scale of property or quantity of acres. They had no voice in promoting or opposing this sweeping regulation, nor any participation in the choice of the magistrates who gained popularity at their expense: if the rich Romans were to be deprived of a part of their estates, still the poor Romans were to benefit; but where was the equity of stripping the Italian allies, and parcelling out their spoils among none but Romans?

With these grievances to kindle their resentment, they carried their complaints to the second Scipio Africanus; in whom, notwithstanding his near relation to the Gracchi, for he had married their sister, they found a most powerful patron.

He attempted in the first place to transfer the power of dividing and allotting to the consul Sempronius, and actually prevailed so far as to procure his nomination; but the consul, fearing the odium which must

attend it, withdrew into his province, and left Scipio exposed to the whole weight of public dissatisfaction. After the consul's dereliction, it became the object of Scipio's party to carry the appointment of a new set of commissioners; and this proposition was received with considerable encouragement. Gracchus and his friends clamoured that Scipio was endeavouring to make himself dictator; the contention became warm, and the assembly grew tumultuous, but neither side gave way; so that after consuming the whole day in angry disputes and invectives, the meeting broke up with an intention on both sides of renewing their feuds the next morning. *Ch. XV.*

The great antagonist of the multitude did not survive that night: he was found cold in his bed, and not without some marks of violence upon the neck. Suspicion, naturally excited by the critical moment and sudden manner of his death, did not spare the character of Sempronia his wife, nor of C. Carbo, Gracchus's colleague; to whom Pompey in later times, speaking in the senate house, imputed this foul murder as a matter of notoriety; and 623.

Ch. XV. and it was observed on the day of his funeral, as a corroborating circumstance of unfair dealing, that when the body of this great man was carried to the pile, the face was covered.

A temporary respite was afforded to these internal agitations by the removal of young Gracchus; whom the consul L. Aurelius carried as his quæstor into Sardinia. Caius remained there two years; at the expiration of which, he came home without leave from
628. his superior, and extremely against the wishes of the senate. But in the execution of his office he had so much distinguished himself, and increased his reputation, that his full tide of popularity returned with him, and immediately raised him to the office of tribune.

629. He began by reviving the agrarian commission in its original form; to which he himself and Fulvius Flaccus were reappointed, with C. Crassus for their colleague. Fulvius had been consul two years before, and obtained a triumph for his services in Gaul, by Gracchus's exertions; he became also, according to Appian, one of his colleagues in his second tribunate. The commission was

afterwards enlarged to ten. C. Gracchus applied himself in the next place to works of public utility and general accommodation, which might enlarge the circle of his dependants while they continued in progress, and leave a permanent impression in his favour: of this description in particular were well formed and extensive roads, and large granaries from whence the citizens might be constantly supplied with corn at a fixed price. *Ch. XV.*

The clothing of the army was likewise thrown by another of his laws upon the public, instead of being defrayed by stoppages out of their pay; and an alteration was made in the manner of voting according to centuries, by which the influence of the rich in those assemblies was materially diminished. He was continued in the office of tribune for a second year, and his popularity raised his friend C. Fannius to the consulate in opposition to his adversary Opimius. 630.

For the purpose of gaining the support of the equestrian order he made a most important inroad upon the prerogative of the senate, by a law called from himself the

Ch. XV. Sempronian, which transferred from that body to the knights the right of sitting in judgment upon all causes. This exclusive exercise of the judicial power had continued in the senate from very early times, and had been hitherto left untouched, while almost every other distinction had been either levelled or encroached upon.

There were plausible reasons to justify the change; for many of their judgments were notoriously partial and corrupt, and some of the latest were the most flagrant of all: but in a constitutional point of view, as affecting the balance of political power in the different orders, it was a period when the senate rather needed support than when it could bear any further weakening. There were also obvious reasons against intrusting to the second order alone the trial of all causes, because they formed in this age of the commonwealth a considerable and distinct body in the state, whose influence was increasing; a body acting upon commercial and mercantile views and principles, and extremely likely to resent any thing done either individually against themselves, or collectively against the interests of their

order in their contracts and dealings with the public. *Ch. XV.*

It appears however, if the authority of Asconius may be relied upon, that their decisions were more equitable than there was reason to expect; for during the forty years that they principally composed the judicature, he reports that their conduct was exempt from reproach; but that when Sylla restored their old privilege to the senators, the sentences, during the ten years that they again sat as judges, were scandalous. Against this testimony of Asconius however we must notice that of Appian, who asserts distinctly that public justice gained nothing by the change, that the knights began by persecuting all those of the superior order who were brought before them, and that they soon after came to imitate and equal their corruption and venality.

Plutarch, whose accuracy in Roman affairs is never to be depended upon, ascribes to C. Gracchus the division only of the judicial power between the senators and knights, saying that he added three hundred from the knights to the same existing number of judges from the senatorian order.

Ch. XV. The Epitome of Livy states, that he made an addition of six hundred knights, leaving the three hundred senators as before.

Gracchus was the author of another law relating to judicial proceedings, which prohibited the putting of any citizen upon trial for his life without the express permission of the people; but this seems to have been little more than a reenactment, or a slight extension of some older law. The first traces of this peculiar tenderness towards the lives of citizens are to be found in the appeal of Horatius to the people, which was a right recognized and carried further by the Valerian law. The decemviral code also, though far from containing a system of mildness with regard to punishment, enacted that no capital crime should be brought to trial except in the greatest assembly of the people, which was the assembly by centuries. It required therefore all the formality of a law to take away the life of a citizen; but the people exercised the right of imposing pecuniary penalties in their assemblies by tribes, which consisted of the commonalty only.

The next project of Gracchus, which

was no less than to admit all the Italian allies to the right of suffrage, was opposed with all the might of the senate and higher order, and by Fannius himself, notwithstanding the means through which he had obtained his dignity. The nobles, besides every direct mode of opposition, devised an indirect one, which struck at the root of Gracchus's influence, though it endangered their own power and prerogatives: they set up one of his colleagues Livius Drusus, not to thwart nor obstruct his measures, but to outrun him in the race of popularity; to make still larger concessions than those proposed by Gracchus, to open a register for the settling of twelve new colonies, and to lose no opportunity of courting and obliging the lower classes. But they laid also a more dangerous snare into which Gracchus unwarily fell: it was proposed to settle a colony at Carthage; for which he allowed himself to be nominated as the chief commissioner, and imprudently absented himself, though he was tribune and legally disqualified from quitting the precincts of the city. It was contrary to the received maxims of

Ch. XV. their foreign policy to plant colonies beyond the limits of Italy; besides which, some circumstances had attended the destruction of their rival republic, which connected its permanent desolation with sentiments of religious superstition.

In the mean time Livius remained master of the field, and made full advantage of his opportunity. The recollection of Gracchus, and the favourable inclination of the people towards him were weakened, if not effaced; and when he was recalled on account of some inauspicious circumstances attending the renovation of Carthage, he failed in obtaining a continuation of his office for a third year, and
631. had the additional mortification to see his enemy L. Opimius elected consul.

It became the object of the senate to rescind the law for settling and rebuilding Carthage; and in the contention occasioned by this struggle, Gracchus met the fate of his brother, which he was not unprepared for. The first blood was drawn by some of the populace, who stabbed one of the lictors while assisting in the functions belonging to the sacrifice. The senate assembling on the next day took advantage of this outrage;

and full power was given to the consul, as in a case of the most imminent peril, to provide for the public safety: the knights were ordered to arm, each attended by two slaves in arms likewise, and to assemble on the Capitoline hill. Gracchus, and Fulvius who was the most eager and violent of the two, collected their partisans, and took post upon mount Aventine. Ch. XV.

The son of Fulvius was sent in vain to the consul to offer terms of accommodation. The senatorial party, confident in their strength, determined to decide the matter by force: they therefore began the assault, and made considerable impression upon their opponents, by means of a body of archers. When the multitude was once broken and terrified, an amnesty was instantly proclaimed for all who would lay down their arms, and a price (no less than their weight in gold) was set upon the heads of Gracchus and Fulvius. Their dastardly companions deserted them and fled. The latter was taken in the house of a friend, where he had concealed himself with his eldest son; and Gracchus, after he had passed the wooden bridge by the assistance and exertion of two courageous

Ch. XV. comrades who perished in his defence, expired by the hand of his faithful slave Euporus, who killed himself with the same dagger. A fraud was practised on the consul by an unworthy follower of Gracchus, named Septimuleius, who gained possession of the head, and poured melted lead into it, to increase the weight. His body was at first thrown into the Tiber; but afterwards delivered to his mother Cornelia. The partisans of Gracchus were severely dealt with; and the younger Fulvius, who had been sent as the messenger and hostage of peace, was sacrificed in cold blood to the unrelenting cruelty of the consul.

Opimius was accused the next year, and brought to trial for putting citizens to death without the sanction of the people; but the consul Carbo, who had been himself a follower of the Gracchi, undertook his defence, which he managed with such extraordinary ability and eloquence, that his client was ac-
632. quitted by a majority of the tribes.

The sudden but transitory alteration of property, which the political ascendancy of the two brothers had in part accomplished, was attended by no durable benefit even to

those of the lower order who received allotments in the partition. The first step by which its efficacy was undermined, before the partisans of the old system ventured openly to move for its total repeal, was by the introduction of a modification allowing those who had shares in these apportionments to alienate them, which Gracchus's law did not permit; so that either by money, by contrivance, or by force, the rich soon came again into possession of all the real property. A payment of a fixed quit rent was the next expedient devised by the tribune Sp. Thorius in lieu of any further division, to the intent that all the present proprietors might be left unmolested, and the produce of this contribution might be distributed to the poor citizens: but this project of relief was no more permanent than the others; for it was abrogated by another tribune in its turn; and the last state of the lower class, after all these struggles for their advantage, is represented by Appian as worse than the first. CH. XI.

It was not however long before the popular party found in C. Marius a leader who assailed and humbled the aristocracy

Ch. XV. more effectually than either of the two brothers whom they had lost, and showed no mercy towards those who opposed him. This extraordinary man, born in the humble town of Arpinum, and deriving no hereditary reputation, as the Gracchi did, from ancestry or connexions, had been distinguished by Scipio for his military talents and services in the Numantine war. His first appearance in political life was in the office of tribune, which afforded him an opportunity of giving an earnest of the violence of his principles and measures, and of the vigour and inflexibility with which he would carry them into execution.

In an altercation with the consul Cotta,
633. which took place in the senate house, he threatened to commit the chief magistrate to prison for obstructing a regulation which he had proposed with regard to voting at elections; and when Metellus the prince of the senate supported Cotta, Marius changing his object of attack, actually ordered him into custody, and thus carried his point by intimidation.

While the internal tranquillity of the city was agitated by this series of violent pro-

ceedings, a signal defeat was sustained by CH. XV.
the consul C. Porcius Cato from the Scor-
disci, who had penetrated from Thrace into 638.
Macedonia, and laid waste a vast tract of
country between the Danube and the Adri-
atic. The Romans did not usually punish
ill fortune in war, nor try their commanders
for the loss of a battle; but the odium of
this ill success fell upon the consul in another
way; he was indicted for extortion, and
condemned to pay a fine for having received
a sum of money, the amount of which was
so extremely inconsiderable, that it would
hardly have been questioned, even in the
days of the strictest frugality and abstinence,
except in an obnoxious character.

The Cimbri and Teutones began about
the same time to set on foot one of their
great migrations, which put to rout the
first Roman army that opposed them under
Cn. Papirius Carbo consul, near Aquileia: 639.
but without pursuing their success, they turned
their march towards the Helvetic territory;
and from thence carried terror and deso-
lation into Transalpine Gaul.

The Scordisci could not maintain them-
selves in the position which they had seized,

Ch. XV.

but were obliged by the Romans to repass
640. the Danube, and allowed to establish themselves there.

It must not be passed without notice, as a circumstance illustrative of the morals of this age of the republic, in which signal instances of great virtues and great vices were alike prominent, that scandalous irregularities were discovered in the college of Vestals, and that no fewer than three, the half of the whole society, were buried alive for incontinence; the two last, on the pro-
639. secution of one of the tribunes, who renewed the accusation before the people, after the high priest had heard and dismissed the cause. Two Vestals had suffered death in the same way, and for the same offence, in the year of the battle of Cannæ.

CHAPTER XVI.

Jugurthine War.

The war with Jugurtha, which continued five years, brought some temporary disgrace upon the Roman arms; but a much more lasting stain upon their integrity and character. This king of Numidia, for to that high dignity he was raised by the will of his uncle Micipsa (the son of Masinissa) jointly with his own two sons, contrived immediately to rid himself of the younger brother, and to wrest from the elder who was named Atherbal all his territorial possessions: until, driven to extremities, he hazarded a battle; in which the courage and military prowess of the usurper prevailed; and the wretched Atherbal, flying from the field, could devise no readier redress for his grievances than by carrying his complaints to Rome. 640. *Bef. Xt.* 112.

Jugurtha had served with great reputation as general of the Numidian auxiliaries during the siege of Numantia, and was

Ch. XVI. much distinguished by P. Scipio: but he learned a lesson in that camp, from some of the leading men with whom he associated, which, though it surprisingly advanced his projects of aggrandizement in the outset, conducted him at last to a miserable end. They encouraged him to consider the whole kingdom of Micipsa as an open field for his ambition, and assured him that every thing at Rome might be effected by money. Acting constantly upon this suggestion, which was in perfect unison with his own crafty and unprincipled disposition, he instructed the ambassadors whom he deputed as apologists for his conduct, to apply to his former friends, and to all the most active and powerful members of the senate, furnishing his emissaries with ample means to gratify the desires and secure the patronage of all those who were willing to countenance, upon such terms, the cause of encroachment and aggression.

The temper of the senate perfectly corresponded with the representations which had been made to its disadvantage: favour and corruption prevailed. Commissioners were sent out with full powers to settle a fair

division of the kingdom between the son of Micipsa and Jugurtha; but their award, although grossly partial and highly injurious to the former, did not satisfy the unbounded ambition of the latter. He therefore made no scruple of attacking his rival, without paying the least regard to this amicable settlement, and in defiance of the remonstrances of two special embassies successively sent from Rome, he kept him besieged in Cirta: and when that strong place was surrendered by capitulation, he put to death, contrary to the articles, all who had born arms against him, Italian traders as well as natives, beginning with the king, who was tortured before his execution. Ch. XVI.

The atrocity of these proceedings made it impossible for the hired partisans of the usurper openly to defend them; and one of the tribunes elect, C. Memmius, by frequent harangues to the people, exposed the infamy and venality of the nobles, and intimidated or shamed the senate into sending a consular army into Africa. L. Bestia Calpurnius, to whom that province fell, carried out with him as legates some of the most considerable men, and 641.

Ch. XVI. among them Æmilius Scaurus prince of the senate, who had in the early stage of this business, contrary to his inclination, taken a strong part against the king. When he was at a distance from observation, his natural temper operated in its full force, and finding a similar disposition in Bestia, they soon came to a secret understanding with Jugurtha, and concluded a truce; during which, under the pretence of surrendering himself and every thing to the Roman power, he should in fact be left in possession of his kingdom, together with all that was valuable. The capitulation was carried into execution in the same spirit that it was negotiated, and those who were left after the consul's departure to see it performed, readily gave into the corruption of which such an example had been set by their superiors. They sold back to the Numidian his elephants and his deserters; so that it seemed as if the love of gain had universally taken possession of the minds of all the Romans who breathed the air of Numidia, like some contagious distemper inseparable from the climate. At Rome these transactions, which were too notorious

the obligation of military service; and he remarks, naturally enough, that a people quarrelling among themselves about agrarian laws, could have no land to bestow upon strangers. *Ch. XVII.*

A second servile war raged for some years in Sicily, and after bringing considerable disaster and disgrace upon the Roman arms, under the pretor Licinius Nerva, it was put an end to by the fall of the ring-leader Athenio in single combat against Aquilius the proconsul. Their revolt had its origin in a just and humane provision of the senate, by which it was proclaimed that liberty should be restored to all those of free condition who had been made slaves from any of the countries in alliance with Rome. Under this pretext, a rising among the slaves first showed itself about Nuceria, Capua, and some of the Italian cities, and was extended afterwards to the neighbouring island, where the same exertion was not applied towards suppressing it upon its first appearance. 652.

A sixth consulate conferred upon Marius in gratitude for his eminent services, though it is stated by some authors to have been 652. *Bef. Xt.* 100.

Ch. XVII. procured by bribery and corruption, confirmed his ascendency and began to disclose the dangerous designs which he harboured against the liberties of his country: he associated as fit instruments for carrying them into execution L. Apuleius Saturninus tribune of the people, and the pretor Glaucia; the former of whom is accounted by Cicero the most eloquent of all the seditious politicians after the Gracchi. His figure and action were extremely prepossessing, to the effect of which he contributed not a little by the attention which he bestowed upon his dress. Glaucia had acquired the general good will of the equestrian order as well as of the people; he was remarkable for acuteness and consummate art in speaking, to which he joined the happiest talent for ridicule: but the same high authority adds, that of all men who were ever born, he was the most flagitious.

The first work of this junto was a law for dividing among the soldiers of Marius the lands which had been taken possession of by the Cimbri. It was in vain that all those who endeavoured to discountenance innovation and confusion opposed the pro-

position; it was carried through by violence and tumult; and the people, in their zeal to guard against the repeal of so questionable and obnoxious a measure under any change of circumstances, added to it an enactment, that every senator individually should take an oath that he would conform to and observe it. Metellus alone had constancy enough to refuse to swear when the oath was tendered to him; and this disobedience drew down upon him an edict, interdicting him the use of fire and water; in consequence of which he withdrew that he might not become the cause of civil commotions, and settled at Rhodes: but in the following year the people became sensible of the injury which they had done to a virtuous and honourable man, and recalled him without any interposition of the senate, upon a motion made by one of the tribunes. *Ch. XVII.*

The proceedings of his two accomplices soon became too outragious even for Marius. Saturninus had obtained his continuance in office by the assassination of his competitor Annius, or Nonius; and the same inhuman mode was pursued to take off one of the candidates for the consulate, C. Memmius,

Ch. XVII. whom Glaucia, who aspired to that dignity, had the greatest reason to dread as a rival. The murder was perpetrated openly in the forum, and the assembly broke up in terror and confusion. The small, but desperate faction which was attached to these two incendiaries endeavoured to excite a general rising, and the title of king is said to have been given to Saturninus by one of his partisans, which was received by the tribune with complacency: they proceeded to make themselves masters of the Capitol, and to fortify themselves in that strong post. The consul, under a decree of the senate, called out the people and distributed arms to them. They then sat down before the Capitol, determined to besiege it: but Marius shortened their labour by cutting off the pipes which conveyed water into the place, and soon reduced the insurgents to the necessity of capitulating; which they did upon condition of their lives being spared. It was beyond the power of those who made this engagement, to fulfil it; and it is doubtful whether Marius, who is described as a fickle man and not fond of protecting the unfortunate, desired the preservation of his old

familiars. The populace broke into the Hostilian court house, in which the senate was assembled, whither the insurgents were conducted as to a place of safety upon leaving the Capitol, and despatched them upon the spot with clubs and stones.

Velleius Paterculus records this sixth consulate of Marius with high commendation, and ascribes to him great merit on account of his exertions in suppressing these terrible anarchists, without noticing that he had raised and fostered them; and he adds, that the consul put them to death in the court house. There is a passage also of Cicero, which indicates that they were rather executed by public authority, than torn to pieces tumultuously.

The epitome of Livy preserves the name of Rabirius as the person by whose hand Saturninus fell; and Cicero, many years afterwards, defended Rabirius from this charge, which he was fully prepared to justify, if the fact could have been proved against his client. A pretended son of Ti. Gracchus, who was made tribune by Saturninus, shared the untimely fate of his patron on the very first day of his magistracy.

Ch. XVII. The inveterate enmity of Apuleius Saturninus against the senate originated in a slight put upon him when he was quæstor, by being removed from superintending the supply of corn during a time of scarcity, which the senate conferred in preference upon Scaurus.

The disorders and excesses occasioned by the ambition and violence of such characters as these appear to follow the natural course of events, and to correspond with the designs of their authors; but it is surprising to find that the seeds of one of the most unnecessary and destructive wars which ever afflicted the commonwealth, were sown in the consulate and by the legislative measures of two persons eminent for their wisdom as well as probity, L. Licinius Crassus the
657. orator, and Q. Mucius Scævola the great civilian. They proposed a law which bore their joint names, Mucian Licinian, enacting that all those who lived in the city, and exercised the rights of citizens without being able to produce satisfactory proof of their title to them, should be obliged to remove to their original places of settlement. It was unquestionably just to control these frau-

dulent assumptions of privileges; it was also in strict conformity to many former precedents; and it was highly desirable for the sake of good government and order, to limit rather than increase the proportion of voters and legislators: but it was impossible to effect this without giving extreme offence to the Italian allies; and this measure kindled, not long after, a most dangerous combination against the authority and preeminence of Rome.

The numbers as well as turbulence of these assemblies were felt in all cases of elections that were contested; upon all questions of popular laws; and above all, in causes of criminal jurisprudence which were brought by public accusation before that uncertain and anomalous tribunal.

Norbanus, while he held the situation of tribune, renewed an information against Q. Servilius Cœpio, for misconduct and cowardice in the Cimbric war, for which he had been before deprived of his office of proconsul by command of the people, and his whole property confiscated to the public use; a species of severity for which no precedent existed since the case of Tarquin.

Ch. XVII. The principal men interested themselves for Cæpio: two of the tribunes were ready to interpose and stop the proceeding, but they were driven away by force; the mob, armed with stones, assailed the patrons and friends of the accused; and in this irregular and illegal mode a vote was passed to banish him.

The tribune, after he was out of office, was called to account for these unwarrantable proceedings on the accusation of Sulpicius; and his acquittal, contrary to all expectation, is recorded as an extraordinary effect of the
658. eloquence of M. Antonius, and of his ability in managing a most unpromising cause. For some other decisions of the criminal tribunal there was not the same excuse; the equestrian order to whom the laws of Gracchus had transferred the judicial power showed great partiality in the protection of their friends, and the condemnation of their opponents; of which a flagrant instance was exhibited about this time in
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of the public property, the publicans in Asia, his enemies by defending the people against their oppression.

It is true that Cicero speaks with high respect of the judgments pronounced during the term of almost fifty years, while the judges were taken principally out of that body, contrasting them with the notorious venality which prevailed after the right was restored to the senatorian order: but he seems studiously to confine himself to the case of money distributed among the judges; and after all, detached passages in the orations of an advocate calculated for an immediate effect upon those to whom they were addressed, are not always to be taken in the strictest construction as containing his genuine opinions.

The censorian power was not remiss in endeavouring to repress the growing irregularities of the times: the luxury of Crassus was exposed and condemned; and Lepidus Ælius, one of the college of augurs, was cited for no other offence than the prodigality of hiring a house at an extravagant rent.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Social War.

The discontent of the Italian allies was brought to its crisis by the short but bril-
661. liant career of M. Livius Drusus, and burst into a flame upon his premature death. He embarked in public life as tribune, with all the advantages of noble birth, adorned by the graces and powers of elocution, with an extensive genius, an ardent courage, great dignity and gravity of behaviour, and the highest character for honour and probity: He inherited from his father, who had supported the senate against the Gracchi, an attachment to that august body; and his schemes are represented as being directed in the first place to reestablish their due weight and ascendant in the state, which the banishment of Metellus, and the condemnation of Rutilius, together with the general turbulence of the times, had not a little impaired: but as his mind was ca-

pacious, he was desirous of accomplishing a comprehensive plan, which might relieve by one combined operation all the disorders under which the commonwealth laboured, and unite and reconcile the discordant orders by mutual concessions and reciprocal benefits. To the senate he proposed to restore the judicial power, either exclusively, or conjointly in equal numbers with the knights; but in return he seems to have projected in favour of the knights, that the numbers of the senate should be doubled, for the purpose of admitting three hundred out of that order. The allies were to be satisfied with the rights of citizens; and the lower orders were to have allotments of land and corn distributed to them gratuitously. Indeed his profuseness in public grants was carried to such an excess, that a speech is ascribed to him, glorying that he had left nothing for any other man to give away, unless it was the dirt which they trod upon, or the Heaven which covered them.

A natural consequence of this increased and excessive expenditure was his debasing the standard of the silver coin, by mixing one eighth part of brass.

Ch. XVIII. Servilius Cæpio, who from being an intimate friend was become the bitterest enemy of Drusus, put himself at the head of the equestrian faction, and began an attack upon the senate by accusations, on account of corrupt practices, against two of their most distinguished members; and Drusus in his zeal to maintain and aggrandize that order, if such was really his object, strove to acquire a dangerous popularity through the same path which the Gracchi had traced out; without considering how incompatible with the ascendency of the senate the political measures of those two brothers were. But the multitude of Italians, whom he had drawn together in the expectation of accomplishing their wishes, put a much more formidable force into his hands; which, whether his motives were good or evil, it might not be in his power to direct after he had given the first impulse to it. The senate had too much prudence and moderation to desire to be supported by such means, and the consul L. Marcius Philippus boldly set himself in opposition to the laws which were proposed; upon which one of the tribune's attendants seized

him by the throat, and almost strangled him before he let go his hold. In this manner the two propositions in favour of the lower class of citizens were passed: but when the Italians began to call upon Drusus to fulfil his promises with regard to them, upbraiding him with the assistance which they had afforded towards his first step, it became evident that he had undertaken for more than he was able to perform. *Ch. XVIII.*

The people at Rome as soon as they had obtained their own objects, became unwilling to lower the value of their privileges, by communicating them to such a multitude of strangers, and the tribune's party became divided against itself.

In the midst of the uncertainty in which his ill digested projects had involved him, an assassin's knife put an end to Drusus at the entrance of his own house, while he was sending away an immense concourse which he had been haranguing. Q. Varius is named by Cicero as the villain who despatched him; he was one of Drusus's colleagues, and already rendered infamous by the death of Metellus, whom he took off by poison. No inquiry was instituted.

CH. XVIII. concerning the manner of Drusus's assassination: and all his laws were immediately annulled by one short decree of the senate upon the motion of his enemy the consul Philippus, who probably availed himself of the summary expedient of declaring them to have been carried contrary to the auspices, which was resorted to in some extraordinary cases, when the temper of the times would bear it, to place a dispensing power in that order alone. The accounts of Drusus's actions, as well as of his character are so various and contradictory, that it is difficult to collect from the whole any thing which can be relied upon as authentic and satisfactory: the courtly pen of Paterculus extols every thing but the success of the grandfather of the empress Livia, and charges the senate with ingratitude and injustice towards their best friend and supporter; but it is not easy to conjecture what boon he could have conferred upon them, to compensate for the power which he was throwing into the popular scale. It is probable his original intention was to depress the equestrian order, and to add something to the dignity and privileges of the other two: to make the knights

accountable for the judgments they pronounced, appears from a passage in Cicero to have been one of his innovations, and of which they loudly complained. *Ch. XVIII.*

If the proposition of admitting a number of them into the senate was in agitation, which is very questionable, it by no means conciliated their order. In the senate, if he had not many wellwishers to the last, it seems at least as if less opposition was given to him than suited the violent politics of the consul Philippus, who openly charged the conscript fathers with pusillanimity, declaring that it was impossible to carry on the government with such a council.

These words were made the subject of a formal charge against the consul in the senate on the motion of Drusus, and the last exertion of the celebrated eloquence of L. Crassus was in vindication of that body, of which he formed one of the most distinguished ornaments.

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Varius, at the instigation of the equestrian order, seized the occasion of the storm that was gathering to carry a law which might bring into peril all the partisans of Drusus, and hold a terrible species of inquisition over the heads of those who had taken any share in promoting the pretensions of the allies: his law enacted that inquiry should be made into the causes of their discontent, and into the conduct of those who had been instrumental in encouraging their claims. The latitude afforded to vexatious
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does not enter into the causes of the excessive rigor with which he was treated. CH. XVIII.

Clandestine meetings were held among the Italians, and hostages interchanged to insure fidelity to the common cause. The first overt act of defection originated in the detection of this practice at Asculum, and afforded an earnest of the savage inveteracy with which hostilities were to be carried on: the people of that town murdered Servilius 661.
the proconsul, and his legate Fonteius, during the celebration of some public festival; and all the Romans who were found there shared the same fate. The Marsi, Peligni, Lucanians, and the other old neighbours and old enemies of Rome, whom she had employed almost five centuries in subduing, and who had since contributed in a double proportion, as compared with the native Romans, to all her foreign triumphs, were ranged in array against her. Their arms discipline and courage were the same; their numbers were certainly superior; but her generals, more accustomed to command, and above all the fortune of the republic enabled her to make a stand against their collective efforts, until she recovered temper enough

CH. XVIII. to discover the policy and necessity of giving way; for in the first instance, the senate refused to hear their ambassadors, unless they came with professions of repentance for what had happened.

The opening of this dreadful war was favourable to the allies; they had considerable success under the command of Vettius Cato against the consul Sex. Julius Cæsar and his legates.

Egnatius, Presenteius, Ventidius, Pompædius Silo, Lamponius, and some of their other generals, were also superior to those whom they engaged. The horrors of war were tempered by no mitigation; the confederates usually killed or starved to death the captives of higher rank whom they took, giving to the private soldiers the option of inlisting in their ranks: the slaves who were in the towns which fell into their hands by force or by surrender were also added to their army: and the Romans found themselves under the necessity of supplying their numbers in the same way; though they did not take any slaves as recruits while actually under the power of their masters, but only after they had been emancipated.

The loss of the consul P. Rutilius, with a great part of his force, spread a general consternation throughout the city, and the melancholy spectacle of his funeral gave occasion to a decree of the senate, directing that the bodies of those slain in battle should be buried upon the spot where they fell, to keep the public disasters as much as possible from the eyes of the people. But the robes of distinction and decorations of magistracy were laid aside under the same authority, and the ordinary civic dress was changed for that of war. Ch. XVIII. 662.

The colony of Nola was taken possession of by the Samnites, together with the garrison and the pretor L. Postumius, whom they killed. In the same disastrous year, Q. Cæpio, encouraged by some slight advantage to make an injudicious attack upon the enemy, fell into an ambuscade laid for him by Pompædius Silo, where he lost his life, and his army was routed. 662.

These defeats were in some measure counterbalanced by Marius, who acted as one of the legates of Rutilius; by Servius Sulpicius, who overcame the Peligni; and by a considerable victory gained over the 662.

Ch. XVIII. Samnites by the surviving consul L. Julius Cæsar; which so far revived the drooping spirits of the citizens that they put off their warlike dress. Sylla was legate to Cæsar, and it happened upon one occasion that an enemy's army was placed between his division and that of Marius, so that the latter began, and the former completed the victory. In the progress of the war the services of Sylla became still more eminent against the Marsi, the Samnites, and the Hirpini; but Marius's age and vigour appeared to be in their wane, and though he did not suffer any defeat, he performed nothing which was equal to his high reputation.

The consuls of the following year, Cn. Pompeius and L. Porcius, prosecuted the war with very unequal success; the former closed a brilliant campaign by the
663. taking of Asculum; but Porcius fell in endeavouring to storm the strong camp of the Marsi.

Whatever might be the ultimate issue of this doubtful contest, it became evident to all reflecting minds that no rational end could be attained by prosecuting it to ex-

tremities; that whether Rome should re- CA. XVIII.
tain, or its new rival Corfinium the chief city of the confederates should acquire the dominion, Italy must at all events be drained of her best blood, and disabled from extending her arms over the rest of the world; that to preserve the Roman strength entire, every thing which was in dispute must sooner or later be conceded; and that the demands of the allies were substantially just, however their means of pursuing them were unwarrantable. Cæsar was very early convinced of the necessity of accommodation, and extremely desirous of putting a stop to further hostilities before the expiration of his office: availing himself therefore of the friendly disposition which began to prevail towards such of their allies of the Latin name as had not deserted them, for some such there were notwithstanding the extent of the defection, he proposed a law, 662
conferring the rights of citizens upon all those who continued firm in their alliance; by which seasonable interposition he kept the Tyrrhenians and Umbrians steady, who were suspected to be wavering, and prevented them from joining the confederates.

CH. XVIII. This benefit was successively extended to others, as they petitioned for it, and submitted; and in the end it was communicated to all, the Lucanians and Samnites being the last who were received into favour. This disastrous and unnecessary war is said to have cost Italy three hundred thousand men in the course of less than three years,
664. which was the extent of its duration.

An instance of flagrant mutiny and disobedience in the troops under the command of Postumius Albinus occurred during one of these campaigns, which ended in their putting him to death, on account of his insolence and tyranny. The old maxims
663. of rigid inquiry were not applied to this atrocious case; and all those concerned in it were received by Sylla without punishment or censure, and incorporated among his own legions. He knew that he had nothing to fear from similar attempts, which were controlled by the ascendency of his talents and character, and he cared little what offences with regard to all others his followers committed while they remained faithful to himself.

Numbers of the allies taking advantage

of the Julian law, flocked to Rome to be registered as citizens. But the censors for some time evaded the fair meaning of the regulation; and instead of enrolling them in any of the existing tribes, put them together into ten new ones, as Appian relates; which were not allowed to give their votes until the thirty five had been polled. ch. XVIII

The tribune Sulpicius and Marius would have turned to their own factious purposes the ill humour which was justly excited among the new citizens by this disingenuous treatment; but the sudden change of affairs and the flight of Marius suppressed for that year the gathering agitation: sufficient matter was however left for Cinna to work upon, when he raised his standard as consul in the same cause, and marched upon the city at the head of several legions composed of the same description of persons.

Eight of the old tribes seem to have been opened for admitting them, in consequence of the efforts of Sulpicius; but they were not allowed indiscriminately to become members of whatever tribe they chose, until some years later.

The consequences which must neces-

ch. xviii. sarily follow the admission of these unlimited numbers to the full right of electing magistrates, and making laws, was probably not unforeseen either by those who struggled against, or by those who promoted it. The progressive increase of registered citizens had already rendered their popular assemblies too numerous to be orderly, and too powerful to be controlled by the regular course of law; but after this extension of the franchise, confusion tumult and faction found a much more extensive field to work upon. The population of whole towns could be thrown in upon every important occasion; and among the multitude of those who claimed the right of voting, it became impracticable to distinguish those who were really qualified: and it is further to be observed that the manumission of slaves, which invested them immediately with the full privilege of citizens, was another and an increasing source of disorder, by which all these inconveniencies were continually multiplied. But the demand of the Italian allies was founded in justice; and what was of more importance to its success, it was prosecuted by an armed confederation, so

that it could hardly have been practicable to withstand it. Were there then any modifications or regulations under which this concesssion could have been granted, without producing the mischiefs by which it was accompanied? One expedient perhaps might have been to take the votes of the allies in their own towns, without bringing them personally to Rome; but this probably would not have been acceptable to them, as it would still have kept up an invidious distinction. Another expedient might have been to introduce a principle of delegation, or representation; but upon this hypothesis also, unless some regulation of the same kind could have been applied to the internal population of the city itself, no such arrangement could have been satisfactory to those who contended to be put exactly upon the same footing: the voting by centuries, as long as that mode prevailed, tended in a great degree to prevent the disorders arising from excessive numbers; and the plan of voting even by tribes had something of the same restrictive operation inherent in it, as contradistinguished from taking the vote of every individual by the poll

SA. XVIIA

CA. XVIII. so as to ascertain the numerical majority of the entire population. But in point of practice these remedial principles completely failed of their purpose; and the rights of election and legislation fell into the hands of those who had the greatest physical force, or the largest means of corruption at their disposal.

About the same time a material alteration was made in the constitution of the judicial power by a law of the tribune Plau-
663. tius, which enacted that each tribe should choose fifteen persons out of its own body, from whom the panel of judges should be drawn. The particular modifications which the Sempronian law underwent before its total abrogation by Sylla are not accurately reported. The titles of the Servilian and Livian laws are preserved, as having restored to the senators a participation in the power which C. Gracchus had wholly taken from them: but their duration must have been very short; and the enactments of this very Plautian law are not exempt from uncertainty.

An old source of internal dissension was revived in these calamitous times, owing

to the uncommon scarcity of money: the debtors, unable to satisfy those who had lent them sums at interest, threatened to avail themselves of the old laws against usury, and summoned their creditors before the pretor A. Sempronius Asellio. CH. XVIII. 663.

As it happens with regard to all laws enacted contrary to the prevailing habits, manners and essential wants of the people, this part of the Roman code, which was intended for the benefit, operated to the detriment of the poorer class: it had consequently been long considered as a dead letter for the mutual convenience of the borrowers as well as lenders: but when the pretor was officially called upon to put it in force, after in vain endeavouring to prevent such questions from being carried to extremities, he found himself obliged by the duty of his office, to decide in favour of the borrowers. The money lenders resented it, and took no ordinary nor secret measures of revenge; but in the middle of the day, and in the full forum, they stoned him to death, while he was attired in his sacred habit, and performing a solemn act of sacrifice. Rewards were offered by the senate for dis-

Ch. XVIII. covering those concerned in this atrocious murder, but without the least effect.

Sylla obtained the consulate in his forty-
664. ninth year, while he was extinguishing in the neighbourhood of Nola the last sparks of the Italic war. He had shared with many others the credit of those victories; but Asia opened a fresh and more ample field for the exercise of his new magistracy, placing him in opposition to one of the most powerful and persevering enemies of the Roman power, whose hostility lasted, with two intervals of hollow peace, during twenty seven years, and was terminated only with his life.

CHAPTER XIX.

Mithridatic War.—Marius driven out of Rome. His Return—Seventh Consulate, and Death.

MITHRIDATES, who held the small kingdom of Pontus, was master of forces and treasures out of all proportion to the extent of his territory, and possessed abilities and ambition equal to the great designs, which about this time he began to develop. Descending from a long line of kings, who traced their origin to one of the seven Persian chiefs, and succeeding to the throne at a very early age, he had devoted all the energies of a vigorous mind, and of a body never yielding to fatigue, to the desire of filling that throne with glory.

The neighbouring kingdoms of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia first attracted his ambition; and being little scrupulous with regard to the means which he used, or the

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ties of consanguinity which stood in his way, he took possession of the latter in full sovereignty, and divided the former with Nicomedes king of Bithynia. But the senate, interposing in favour of their allies, made Paphlagonia an independent state, and set up Ariobarzanes as king of Cappadocia at the request of the people of that country, who deprecated the proffer of liberty for which they felt wholly unfit, nor could they indeed endure the thoughts of living without a monarchical government.

A second interference of the Romans became necessary to reinstate Ariobarzanes, after Mithridates had expelled him from Cappadocia, and obliged him to fly as a suppliant to Rome. Bithynia also was seized by the young monarch upon the death of Nicomedes; and Tigranes sovereign of Armenia was drawn into his alliance.

It had happened to the king of Pontus to have opportunities of personally knowing the two great men who divided Rome into factions, before he provoked the war. His interview with Sylla was when he was sent out as pretor, with the charge of reinstating Ariobarzanes in the kingdom of Cappadocia,

which was submitted to without any apparent reluctance on the part of Mithridates, as his designs were not yet fully matured. Ch. XIX.

Marius's intercourse with the court of Pontus was not in consequence of any public mission; but upon an occasion when he came into Asia for the performance of a vow. Their conference was not long; but it was amply sufficient to impress upon the discerning mind of the monarch the domineering character of the Roman power: he perceived at once that there was no middle course, and that if he could not conquer, he must crouch to it.

The civil war, which convulsed and depopulated Italy, presented a tempting occasion for giving a loose to his resentment; towards the close of which he had been solicited to take part with the Italians. In the twenty third year therefore of his reign, Mithridates boldly burst through his barrier, and overrunning the lesser Asia like a torrent, proclaimed inexpiable war by the massacre of eighty thousand Romans in one day, who were resident in unsuspicious security throughout the different cities and provinces which were either directly under 664.

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his dominion, or influenced by his emissaries.

The internal factions, which subsided during the violence of the social war, broke out afresh towards its conclusion. A popular and eloquent tribune P. Sulpicius was not deterred by the high office with which Sylla was invested, from setting up the party of his rival; and to such extremities were things carried, that Q. Pompeius Rufus the other consul was deprived of his office by a vote of the people; and Sylla himself, by a strange combination of circumstances, sought and received protection, during this scene of tumult and alarm in the house of Marius, who sheltered, and dismissed him in safety, after exacting an oath, that he would annul some obnoxious and unpopular ordinances; which the consul performed according to his obligation. In the commentaries written by himself, he is said by Plutarch (in the life of Marius) to have contradicted this current story of his refuge and preservation; but in the life of Sylla, the same biographer relates it without any doubt of its truth.

But the tribune was determined to follow up this tide of popular inclination, and to

wrest from the consul the conduct of the Mithridatic war, which had been allotted to him, for the purpose of conferring it upon the head of his own party. No sooner therefore was Sylla returned to his army near Nola, and hastening the preparations for embarking, than the people rescinded by a vote the destination of the consular province, and transferred it to their old commander, whose thirst of conquest and glory was not quenched by almost seventy years of age. *Ch. XIX.*

The son of the consul Q. Pompeius who had married Sylla's daughter was killed by some of the partisans of Sulpicius, who further abused the confidence which the people reposed in him, by proposing and carrying several pernicious laws.

The legions, eager to leave the shore, and filled with the hopes of Asiatic plunder put to death the messengers of the unwelcome news from Rome, one of whom was Gratidius; but the consul, who desired nothing more than to return into the city, had the address to colour his retrograde march with an apparent reluctance, as if he was

Ch. XIX. carried back by the impulse of his soldiers contrary to his own inclination.

His deposed colleague Pompeius joined Sylla upon his return, together with many of the principal nobility and great numbers of the military.

Marius was ill prepared to cope with the vigour and rapid movement of his antagonist. He attempted to negotiate under the authority of the senate, in the hope at least of gaining time; but Sylla, though he professed no unwillingness to treat, was at the gates; and in another instant, within the gates. The streets became a field of battle. Marius and Sulpicius, with some of their associates, shut themselves up for a short time in the Capitol, from whence they effected their escape. The senate immediately passed a decree for banishing twelve of the principal agitators, and a price was set upon the heads of the two chiefs.

Sulpicius was betrayed by a slave, whom Sylla, after paying the promised reward, ordered to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock.

The history of the escape and preservation of Marius abounds with the most singular and romantic incidents. He maintained throughout his perils an undaunted courage, and a firm confidence in his destiny, which he was persuaded still reserved a seventh consulate in store for him; so that he continued cheerful, and kept up the spirits of his few companions, as long as they ventured to remain with him. When he was left alone, he endeavoured to conceal himself in the sedge and cover which the marshes of Minturnæ afforded; but his pursuers discovered him, and dragged him forth. Still in this extremity of adverse fortune, in a garb calculated to excite contempt rather than respect, covered with filth, and hauled to prison like a criminal, he preserved a grandeur in his deportment and a tone of command in his voice which appalled the executioner, who happened to be a public slave captured in the Cimbric war, when he was sent into the gaol to take off his head. Feelings of admiration and compassion, when the fate of a great man is at stake, are easily propagated: the people of Minturnæ, catching the generous

Ch. XIX. sensations of the barbarian, began to contemplate with pity the sufferings of their magnanimous prisoner, and to lament the unworthy humiliation of the saviour of his country: they provided a vessel for him, which, after some further hazards and hair-breadth escapes near the Sicilian coast, landed him at last in Africa, where he was joined by his son, by his son-in-law Granius, and by Cethegus.

A wretched hut in the midst of the ruins of Carthage afforded them a temporary shelter; but as soon as the propretor Sextilius had information of their retreat, he ordered them instantly to quit his province. The lictor who was sent with the official mandate, found this illustrious exile surrounded by a scene of desolated magnificence corresponding with the lamentable wreck of his own fallen fortune. Marius withdrew upon the receipt of this injunction; after which, the small islands upon the African coast became his abode during the winter.

The consul Q. Pompeius, after escaping the violence of his open enemy, was assassinated by the army, of which he was about

to take the command from his namesake Pompeius Strabo, the father of Magnus, upon whom the suspicion of this foul action fell: it was perpetrated while the consul was in the act of sacrificing, when his year of magistracy was nearly closed. *Ch. XIX.*

The new consuls L. Cornelius Cinna and Cn. Octavius were men of very different characters, and of opposite politics; the former a violent partisan of Marius, whom Sylla either wanted power to exclude, or acquiesced in not opposing upon the protestations which he made with regard to his future conduct: the prudence and sound principles of the latter afforded at all events a reasonable expectation of controlling and counteracting his impetuosity and mischievous designs. But the professions of Cinna were disregarded as soon as they had served his purpose: he began the exercise of his authority by calling Sylla to account for his proceedings against Marius, and other irregular acts; while on the other hand, Sylla unwilling to be detained in Italy, and impatient to reap the laurels which Asia held out hastened his departure, leaving Rome upon the brink of a civil war. 665.

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The cause of the Italians, who were not yet completely invested with the full rights of citizens, so as to have the beneficial exercise of their franchise in elections, continued to afford matter for discontent and dissension.

It is not indeed easy to ascertain what was their exact condition; but it may be collected from scattered passages in the several authors who have treated of these times, that though some modifications of the unfair construction of the first law were from time to time adopted in their favour, there was still a strong disposition to depress and keep them down; and at this time, instead of being registered indiscriminately in any of the thirty five tribes, they were allowed to be enrolled only in eight of them; so that their numbers could still have no considerable effect against the old citizens, where their interests clashed, because each tribe could only reckon for one whatever proportion of individuals it might contain, the elections being determined according to the majority of the tribes, and not numerically upon the sum of those who were polled. Instances are

to be found in older times of regulations for enrolling particular classes of citizens in certain tribes only: and it has already been observed in its proper place that the surname of Maximus was first acquired by the Fabian family, when the censor Fabius collected into the four city tribes, as he denominated them, the whole multitude of indigent citizens, who at that time thronged and almost domineered in the forum; by which means he took a great share of power out of the hands of the lowest order. For the same reason, we find that a little before the second Punic war the freedmen were not permitted to be entered promiscuously in any tribe, but were restricted specifically to four; it was in fact a limitation as ancient as the reign of Servius Tullius; but in these times of faction and disorder, it seems, like every other restriction, to have been complained of as a grievance, and to have given a pretext to the tribune Sulpicius for coupling the cause of the freedmen with that of the new citizens in the mischievous laws which he proposed. Ch. XIX.

The freedmen appear to have gained complete redress, by all the tribes being

Ch. XIX. thrown open to them not long after: but a distinction was still made between giving to the Italians all other rights of citizens, and granting the right of suffrage, which are noticed in the Epitomes of Livy as separate transactions with some interval of time between them, and both these privileges as being granted by decrees of the senate.

The impolicy of withholding any part of the contested rights which had been the cause of war became more and more apparent: Cinna took advantage of it, and at the head of the new citizens, contended with his colleague for the mastery, which gave occasion to what is styled by Cicero the Octavian war. Much blood was shed within the walls; Octavius remained superior: but Cinna, attended by six of the tribunes, and by Q. Sertorius, withdrew into Campania, where he found means to corrupt and gain over the army of Ap. Claudius, and to add to it considerable numbers of Samnites, and other Italians, in the assertion of whose cause he had suffered. The senate proceeded to deprive him of his office, and of all his rights as a citizen, for having deserted his post while the city was in danger;

and particularly for having proclaimed freedom for all slaves who would join him. By the same decree L. Corn. Merula was appointed consul in his stead. *Ch. XIX.*

Marius received an invitation from the deposed consul to return from his exile; which he gladly embraced. His great name, and his popularity among the discontented allies, whose claims he had constantly favoured, drew numbers to his standard as soon as he joined Cinna, particularly from among the Samnites, who were actually in arms, and still defending themselves, though without much prospect of ultimate success, against an army which had been sent to finish their subjugation under the command of Metellus. When a sufficient power was collected in the Marian cause, it was determined to march on boldly and lay siege to Rome, the defence of which was undertaken by Octavius, Metellus, and Cn. Pompeius Strabo, the latter of whom uncertain what part he should take, and solicitous only for his own interest, had first offered his services with a large military force to the faction of the exiles. All supplies of provisions were intercepted before

CH. XIX. they could reach the city; and the inhabitants soon began to feel the pressure of famine. In addition to so many accumulated calamities, the plague raged under the walls; and, among many victims whose loss excited much greater regret, carried off Pompeius. Under these circumstances of distress, no hope remained for the multitude shut up within the city, but to submit to those by whom they were besieged; and a deputation was accordingly sent, inviting Cinna to return as consul, with the outlaws who attended him, whose sentences it was the first act of the assembly to reverse.

Marius is said to have awaited the regular passing of this reversal of his attainder, before he would enter the walls, putting on a pretended humility, and ill dissembling the inward workings of his implacable temper. Scenes of atrocity followed, exceeding as much all former acts of violence which had disgraced the factious struggles of the republic, as these very horrors were soon after surpassed by the cruelties of Sylla. Marius hated the senate, and felt no inclination to spare any individual of that body; of which Octavius, as might naturally be

expected, was among the first victims. Several of the most distinguished members prevented the assassin's weapon by different modes of voluntary death; particularly Merula and Catulus; the first of whom opened his veins and bled to death in the chapel of Jupiter, whose priest he was; and the latter, when he found that he could expect no mercy from his old colleague in the Cimbric Triumph, shut himself up in a chamber newly plastered, and expired by suffocation. M. Antonius the celebrated orator was discovered in his concealment, and his head, after having been exhibited at the table of Marius, was stuck upon a pole in the forum. The excesses and atrocities committed by the slaves whom Cinna had made free were beyond the endurance even of Cinna himself, and he sent a party of Gallic soldiers to destroy them in the night. Plutarch attributes this act of excessive but perhaps necessary severity to Sertorius, who detested the barbarities of his two associates, and objected to the reception of Marius. Ch. XIX.

The vacant consulate was not filled up for the remainder of the year; but for the next which followed, Cinna without the

Ch. XIX. semblance of any election nominated himself and Marius: not many days after which, that extraordinary man, who had already lived too long for his own reputation, or for the benefit of his country, died after a short illness in his seventieth year, and in his seventh consulate.

666. Bef. Xt. 86.

The day after his inauguration to this last magistracy was signalized by several acts of violence and outrage, one of which was the throwing down from the Tarpeian rock S. Licinius a senator; another was the banishment of two pretors; and a third the murder of one of the tribunes, whose head was sent by young Marius the son, as a present to the consuls.

To supply this unexpected loss, Cinna took Valerius Flaccus for his colleague, with the same disregard of the laws of election which he had shown upon the former occasion: and with equal contempt of the prerogative of the senate in the allotment of provinces, he assigned Asia, together with the conduct of the Mithridatic war, to his new associate, thinking his own continuance at the seat of empire necessary for their usurped power.

Flaccus had no qualifications which fitted him for the arduous task that was thrown upon him; but Fimbria, a senator of considerable talents, and an excellent officer was appointed to accompany and direct him. CH. XIX.

Before he went abroad Flaccus left an infamous record of his magistracy, in a law by which debtors were allowed to pay only a fourth part of their debts, and to receive an acquittance for the whole.

Sylla had already been outlawed, his houses and property destroyed, and it was with difficulty that his wife and family preserved their lives; but his return was ardently desired by all those who were obnoxious to the domineering faction; and many of the higher order, not deeming themselves secure within the confines of Italy, made their escape into Greece, and put themselves under his protection.

An extraordinary excess of tribunitial power happened in the same turbulent and lawless period: P. Lænas threw down from the Tarpeian rock Sex. Lucilius, a tribune of the former year; and when Lucilius's colleagues, whom he had summoned to appear and answer to his charge, avoided the

Ch. XIX. danger by flight, he interdicted them the use of fire and water.

There is nothing greater in Sylla's character than his steady perseverance in the enterprise intrusted him, until he could bring it to a prosperous issue, notwithstanding the provocations and solicitations which urged him to return home and revenge himself upon his enemies. The events of this and the other wars waged by Rome against Mithridates are detailed in a separate history by Appian; and Greece became at this period the principal scene of them.

Mithridates, after being obliged to raise the siege of Rhodes by the valour and naval prowess of the brave islanders, left the command to his generals, of whom Archelaus was the chief, contenting himself with collecting and superintending the ample supplies of every description, which he forwarded from time to time to repair their losses: his presence was also necessary to keep the Asiatic cities in awe, which began to waver in their attachment, on account of his cruelty and suspicious temper. In some places he had disgusted the whole mass of free inhabitants, by giving liberty to the

slaves, and annulling all debts. The people of Chios, after delivering up their arms and their valuables, were perfidiously transported out of their island. The tetrachs of the Gallogrecians who were living with him as friends had the misfortune to fall under his suspicion, and were sacrificed with as little scruple as any of the rest. Ch. XIX.

Sylla's first and most considerable undertaking was the siege of Athens, which Archelaus had drawn to the king's side by his liberality in restoring Delos and depositing the sacred treasure within the city; but with the treasure he sent a guard of two thousand men, and their fellow citizen Aristio, who, from a professor of the Epicurean philosophy, proved as intolerable a tyrant as some other philosophers, not excepting the seven wise men are represented by Appian to have been in similar situations of power and authority.

The attack and defence were conducted for some months with equal courage skill and obstinacy. The winter came on without interrupting the progress of the works, which were principally directed against the Piræus, where Archelaus conducted the defence in

Ch. XIX. person; the city was on every side closely blockaded, the introduction of all provisions prevented, and all egress stopped, that the supplies might be the sooner exhausted. When the miserable inhabitants were by these means reduced to great distress, Sylla suspended his active operations against those celebrated walls which their own height and strength, as well as the activity and resources of Archelaus had rendered more defensible than he expected, and directing his attack against some other quarter of the city, encountered only a feeble resistance from men worn out by sufferings and debilitated by want of food. To what horrid extremities this last necessity had driven them appeared, when the houses were pillaged and ransacked; for in many of them, as the only remaining aliment of wretched existence, pieces of human flesh were found prepared for dressing. The vengeance of the conqueror gave a free range to indiscriminate slaughter and plunder; no outrage was prohibited except setting fire to the houses.

666. The citadel, into which Aristio withdrew, held out a short time; but as soon as it was taken, the tyrant and his principal adherents

were put to death. Sylla returning after this success to his first point of attack, succeeded in battering down part of the wall and the new works which the diligence of the besieged had constructed within. Archelaus was obliged to abandon what was no longer capable of defence, and retiring to a part within the Piræus, which was safe from all attacks on the land side, he embarked his garrison in transports, and collected all the king's forces in the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ. The sea was still open to him; for Lucullus, who was deputed to Alexandria and Rhodes, was not yet returned with the fleet which the allies were expected to furnish.

No sooner had Archelaus sailed than the celebrated walls of Athens, the arsenal, and the dock, were destroyed, and burned by the conqueror. The grove of the Academy was already felled, for the purpose of supplying wood for towers, and machinery during the siege.

Perceiving his enemy, and coming up with him at Chæronæa, Sylla had the dexterity to bring Archelaus to a general engagement in ground the most disadvantageous to the numbers and the armed chariots of the

Ch. XIX. king's army, and the best calculated for the regular and compact movements of the legions: the event was a complete victory, with the taking of the camp. But the loss related by the Greek historian of this war, of one hundred thousand on the side of the conquered, and only thirteen on the other, exceeds all credibility. Mithridates, not disheartened by this disaster, levied another army of eighty thousand men, which he sent into Greece, and placed under the command of the same general. A second
666. great battle was fought at Orchomenus, in which the personal bravery of Sylla, in a situation of the most imminent peril, was as distinguished as his military skill in the first; the event was equally fortunate, and the camp of Archelaus was taken. He himself fled to Chalcis, from whence he made overtures for peace; and Sylla dictated such terms as the relative posture of affairs rendered reasonable enough. When these articles were communicated to the king, he was ready to submit to all the other conditions, but he positively objected to one which obliged him to give up Paphlagonia; in consequence of which Sylla determined to transport his army

into Asia. Lucullus was by this time ready at Abydos with the ships which he had assembled, after having been in danger more than once of being captured by the pirates. *Ch. XIX.*

The state of the King's affairs at home was little better than abroad; the Asiatic cities, with Ephesus at their head, were alienated from him, on account of his grievous exactions and excessive severity his army was every where beaten; and he himself, driven from the continent, was obliged to take shelter in Mitylene.

The consul Flaccus, after making himself hated and despised by his soldiers, had also the imprudence to affront Fimbria, whose influence and credit were in high estimation, and whose temper was not disposed to brook an insult where he had the means of revenging it. The army was ready to take his part, and Fimbria putting himself at their head began by deposing the propretor Thermus; the consul himself fled and was pursued to Chalcedon, and from thence to Nicomedia, where he was discovered concealed in a well; and Fimbria severing the 667. head from his body cast it into the sea.

The command which he acquired by

Ch. XIX. these foul means he exercised ably; and if Lucullus, whom he exhorted to cooperate against the common enemy, would have assisted him by blockading the harbour of Pitane, there can be no doubt that Fimbria would have been able to finish the war with glory.

The refusal of Sylla's lieutenant to act in concert afforded Mithridates an opportunity of escaping by sea to Mitylene; but he could not venture to set his foot within his own dominions when Sylla passing out of Greece landed in Asia.

In their first interview at Dardanus, the decided manner of the Roman convinced the king that he could expect no relaxation in the conditions, and that it became indispensable to accept or reject the whole; ceding therefore every thing which he had acquired in Greece and elsewhere, he consented to confine himself within his hereditary kingdom, to surrender his ships, and to defray the expenses of the war. Sylla's next object was to consolidate the other army with his own; and he accordingly sent to Fimbria, whose camp was very near, requiring him to give up the command. Fimbria, whose

pretensions and courage were as high as any man's, replied that his own title was as good as Sylla's; but the question of title was of little avail; Sylla was the most powerful and the most popular. Deserters flocked to him from the other camp; an oath of fidelity was tendered by Fimbria to his army as a last expedient, but with no better success; so that abandoning himself to despair, he retired to Pergamus, and falling upon his sword in the temple of Esculapius with the assistance of a favourite boy, who would not survive him, he breathed his last. *Ch. XIX.*

In settling the condition of the Asiatic communities, and allowing the claims of some on account of merit, or punishing the defection of others, Sylla held an exact and rigorous scrutiny in all cases. Where the delinquency had been the most flagrant, he sold all the inhabitants as captives: upon Ephesus he imposed as a fine five times the annual tribute, together with the expenses of the war and of its consequences: all the slaves who had been made free by the proclamation of the king he commanded to return under their former masters, by which means the internal state of the whole pro-

Ch. XIX. vince was rendered turbulent and unsafe; and the resentment of the numbers remanded to bondage showed itself in frequent assassinations robberies and every species of crime.

The power of the pirates upon the coast was grown up in these times of confusion and misrule almost to the extent of a legitimate confederacy; and they had the audacity to take possession of harbours, and to plunder temples, under the very eyes of the conqueror of Mithridates.

Cinna supplied the loss of his second colleague Flaccus by Carbo, a man of much greater boldness, and of better capacity, but equally unprincipled; and he declared himself consul for the fourth time with the same colleague for the following year also. Their grand object was to prevent Sylla's return; and they began levying an armament for that purpose, though contrary to a determination of the senate, who had already despatched a deputation from their own body upon a mission to Sylla, with a view of reconciling him to his opponents, and putting an end to the terrible dissensions which distracted the republic. The consuls

in furtherance of their own designs were busy in making preparations for transporting the legions into Illyricum; but the soldiers showed signs of discontent at the prospect of serving against their countrymen, and Cinna was thrust through the body at Ancona by one of the centurions, when he was about to expostulate with them, and taking measures to quell their mutinous spirit. *Ch. XIX.* 668.

CHAPTER XX.

Carbo returned reluctantly to Rome, whither he was recalled by the senate to hold the assembly for electing another consul; but some ill omens afforded him a pretext for postponing what he was not desirous of expediting, and he remained alone in the chief magistracy when Sylla landed at Brundisium. The numbers which he brought home were between thirty and forty thousand men, who were embarked at Patræ in sixteen hundred vessels; but the adherents of his own party, and the enemies of the disorder and tyranny which had prevailed during his absence, came from all quarters boldly forward to join him. Cæcilius Metellus surnamed Pius was the first, bringing in his train no inconsiderable force: the next was young Pompey, who at the early age of twenty-two possessed influence and credit enough to raise an entire legion in the

country about Picenum, from among the old soldiers of his father, or the clients and dependents on his family; to which he shortly after added two more legions. *Ch. XX.*

The march of Sylla to Rome was conducted with the utmost regularity and order; no plundering nor excess of any kind was committed in Calabria, Apulia, and Campania, through which he passed; and he either entertained or pretended a sincere desire of restoring the public tranquillity upon reasonable terms of accommodation.

A truce was agreed upon; and it became the first duty of the two newly elected consuls L. Scipio and C. Norbanus, who in this critical conjuncture had just succeeded Carbo and entered upon their office, to treat with him for this desirable object. They were both extremely adverse to Sylla, but the first of them by bringing his army within reach of Sylla's camp exposed himself to the same danger which had lately fallen upon Fimbria in Asia, and which many years later was fatal to Pompey's lieutenants in Spain. The high reputation of the general, and of the legions which had con-

Ch. XX. quered Mithridates, together with the activity of the secret agents whom he sent into the other camp, drew the consular forces from their allegiance; and, not content with deserting Scipio, they put both him and his son into Sylla's power, who took no undue advantage of their situation, but dismissed them honourably, and without conditions. Sertorius during the same suspension of arms made himself master of Suessa; affording to Sylla a cause of remonstrance, which he magnified into a most heinous infraction of the convention, though he was probably overjoyed to find so plausible an excuse for all the subsequent atrocities, which he vindicated upon the plea of justifiable retaliation for the ill faith with which he had been treated. The other consul Norbanus, assisted by Carbo, risked an encounter near Capua, in which he was defeated by Sylla. Sertorius, whose name became celebrated soon after these events, by the distinguished character which he maintained, and the independent government which he established in another part of the empire against the domineering fortune of Sylla, quitted Italy after the con-

dition and conduct of his friends left him little to hope at home, and effected a seasonable retreat into Spain, which was his province as pretor. Velleius Paterculus says that he fell into Sylla's hands, and met with the same liberality which was shown to Scipio; but it is hardly consistent with the ability and circumspection of Sertorius to have been taken prisoner, nor perhaps with the penetration and sagacity of Sylla to have let him go; for he must have known this great general even in his early campaigns for a very different man from the Scipios of those days. But the circumstances attending the withdrawing of Sertorius are related without any occurrence of this sort, both by the Greek historian of the civil wars, and by his biographer Plutarch, who calls him incorrectly proconsul instead of pretor. *Ch. XX.*

Notwithstanding the ascendant which Sylla was gaining daily in the field, the city still continued under the influence of his adversaries. Carbo returned thither unexpectedly, and proclaimed Metellus and the rest of his opponents public enemies; he had even sufficient power to procure

Ch. XX. his own election as consul for the third time, with young Marius for his colleague, in his twenty seventh year, whom Appian calls the nephew, but other authors the son of Caius.

The Capitol caught fire, and was consumed to the ground in the preceding year, according to Tacitus; who says however in another passage, that this accident happened in the social war.

The unusual rigour of the winter suspended all military operations; but as soon as the campaign could be opened, Marius
670. sustained an irreparable defeat at Sacriportus; and retiring with the remains of his army, shut himself up in Præneste, which was immediately invested by the conqueror; and as all supplies were intercepted, it was not long before it was reduced to great extremities. But Marius, in the true spirit of his father, that he might enjoy the satisfaction of hurrying his enemies out of the world before him, found means to despatch a list to Rome, addressed to one of the pretors, with the names of those whom he commissioned him to put to death. L. Brutus Damasippus, who held that office,

punctually obeyed this execrable order, and assembling the senate as if for some important business, he caused all those who were included in the fatal order to be deprived of life upon the spot. Among them were some of the most respectable members of that body, particularly Domitius, and Scævola the high priest; nor was even the brother of Carbo spared. The name of Antistius is preserved as being one of the number, more on account of the heroism of his wife Calpurnia, than from any merit or consequence of his own. She showed the sincerity of her affection by her determination not to survive him; for as soon as the account of his death reached her, she thrust herself through with a sword and expired. *Ch. XX.*

Carbo made some bold but ineffectual attempts to relieve his colleague, but the last and most vigorous effort was conducted by the old and inveterate enemies of the Roman name, the Samnites. They collected a considerable force to the number of forty thousand under Pontius Telesinus, and by a forced march were upon the point of making themselves masters of Rome itself, when

Ch. xx. Sylla and Crassus came up with them and engaged them at the Colline gate. Night put an end to their well disputed and doubtful combat, in which Sylla's division is said to have been routed, while that of Crassus was successful; but on the return of day, when the body of Telesinus was found among the slain, it was no longer a matter of doubt on which side the victory was gained, and Sylla became master of the city. The head of the Samnite general was cut off and exhibited before the walls of Præneste; and the besieged, reduced to the necessity of surrendering, exchanged the lingering miseries of famine for the more expeditious doom of the unrelenting conqueror. Marius, in endeavouring to escape through one of the subterraneous passages, perished by his own hand, or by that of the brother of Telesinus, who was shut up with him in the town.

The same success attended the arms of Sylla's partisans in other parts of Italy: The Servilii at Clusium, Metellus at Faventia, and Lucullus near Fidentia, gained considerable victories over those who supported the Marian cause. Pompey, whose rising talents Sylla took every opportunity of at-

taching to himself, and honouring by distinction, was despatched into Africa in pursuit of Carbo, from whence he followed him into Sicily. The fugitive consul was taken at Lilybæum, and brought loaded with chains into Pompey's presence, who sent his head to Sylla. Carbo met his fate like a coward; but though he deserved no favour from Sylla's partisans, Pompey was censured for being his executioner, for Carbo had conferred obligations upon him as well as upon his father, and the ample inheritance to which young Cnæus succeeded had been preserved from confiscation by his strenuous exertions. It was during this expedition that Pompey defeated Domitius, and restored Hiempsal to the throne of Numidia, for which upon his return he was gratified with a triumph, and saluted with the surname of Great by Sylla; though the triumph was suspected to be granted with less cordiality than the honorary appellation. Ch. XX.

Sylla, elated with this constant tide of prosperity, assumed the surname of Fortunate, and feeling himself to be above all control, he disgraced and abused his power by giving a loose to the ferocious and vin-

Ch. XX. dictive qualities which were natural to him. The first act of his intolerable tyranny was the murder of eight thousand soldiers who had served under the command of those opposed to him, and had surrendered after their defeat. Their shrieks were heard within the temple of Bellona, where the senate happened to be assembled, and upon the noise producing some inquiry and sensation among the members, Sylla said slightingly, that they were only some few disaffected persons whom he had ordered to be punished.

The alarm of the senators which such an explanation could not tend to tranquillize, was not without reason; Sylla's vengeance soon burst upon the heads of many of the most distinguished, whose names he set the dreadful precedent of publishing and denouncing as lying under the ban of his displeasure. They were deprived by his proclamation of the protection of the law, and rendered liable to be searched for, and put to death wherever they could be discovered, with rewards offered for their detection.

According to Appian, his first catalogue comprised forty members of the senate and sixteen hundred knights; but other authors

report that he proceeded with much more phlegm and consideration, adding from day to day new victims, as his own recollection or caprice or the malice of those about him suggested fresh subjects for his rancour to work upon.

The total number which the several editions of this detestable placard comprehended, is stated as high as four thousand seven hundred citizens of different ranks, whose names are said to have been recorded by Sylla's order in the public registers: Florus reckons two thousand of the senatorian and equestrian order.

Some of these unfortunate sufferers were not simply deprived of life, but were previously exposed to the most excruciating torments; among whom M. Marius brother of Caius was sacrificed with circumstances of excessive cruelty, at the tomb of Lutatius Catulus, under the direction of Catiline, whose after life did not degenerate from his apprenticeship in this school of atrocity.

The avarice and rapacity of Sylla's adherents took advantage of the facility and impunity with which all those who were

Ch. XX. obnoxious to their party might be destroyed; and as it was a consequence of this summary mode of condemnation, that the property of the deceased should be confiscated and sold, no offence was more certain of punishment than that of possessing whatever a more powerful man coveted. The authors who wrote nearest to this period speak of the proscription as a mowing down, or indiscriminate carnage, not only of the Marian faction, and of every reputed wellwisher to that cause, but of all those who had great wealth, or magnificent villas, or extensive gardens, or any other object of luxury or enjoyment to tempt the desires of any of the predominating party. It was Sylla's policy to interest the principal men in the duration of his ascendency, by rendering them sharers in the spoils; and Crassus in particular, added to his immense wealth by making large purchases at the public auctions of the property which was forfeited. A more ingenious, as it was a less obvious use, was made by Catiline of the proscription, who obtained a sort of retrospective warrant for the murder of his brother which he had committed during the civil war, by

requesting that his name might be inserted in the list; and the same artifice was practised by one of Sylla's freedmen in the case of Cicero's first client Roscius of Ameria. *Ch. XX.*

The delinquency of the fathers was, contrary to all the established maxims of the Roman law, most severely visited upon their children, who besides being stript of their property, were declared incapable of holding offices; with this additional aggravation imposed upon the sons of the senatorian order, that they should continue to support all the burdens attached to it, while they were deprived of all its privileges.

These abominable proceedings on the part of those whose high stations held them up as examples for others, naturally diffused and encouraged a general disregard of principle, and a violation of every moral duty. Mutilus, one of the proscribed, returning in disguise to the back part of his house, was refused admission by his wife Bastia, who 672
taxed him as a delinquent; upon which the miserable husband stabbed himself before her eyes, and sprinkled her door with his blood.

The first instance of Julius Cæsar's good

Ch. XX. fortune was his preservation during this dangerous period, for he was nearly related to Marius whose wife Julia was his aunt: Cæsar's second wife was Cinna's daughter named Cornelia, and he had personally incurred Sylla's displeasure by refusing to divorce her. But the interest of some powerful connexions, and the intercession of the Vestals extorted a reluctant grant of his life; while Sylla contented himself by taking from the young son-in-law of Cinna his wife's fortune, and depriving him of the office of high priest in which he had succeeded Scævola, though he was not more than seventeen years old. In showing this almost single act of grace, Sylla discovered a remarkable depth of discernment into character, or almost an insight into futurity; for he observed to those who solicited in Cæsar's behalf that there was not one Marius, but many in that young man.

The death of Carbo left the commonwealth without a chief magistrate, and the senate at the request of Sylla, who withdrew for a short time from the city, named L. Valerius Flaccus interrex. The people were assembled by him to consider of the propriety

of constituting a dictator, not as in former times for any one special purpose or limited time, but to continue until the disorders of Italy and the whole empire could be composed and settled. Some sort of election seems to have taken place, and this high magistracy was revived in the person of Sylla after it had been discontinued for one hundred and twenty years; which places the last dictator in the year after Hanibal quitted Italy, according to Velleius Paterculus.

Ch. XX. 670. *Bef. Xt.* 82.

The first use which he made of his authority was to change the whole balance of the constitution, by raising the power of the senate and depressing that of the democracy: as an effectual step towards which he ordained, that no person after holding the office of tribune should be eligible to any other; and that the same magistracy should not be conferred again upon the same person, without an interval of ten years. Besides this degradation of the tribunes, he permitted them to retain no active nor initiating power for the proposing of laws, restricting them to their right of interposing by their negative, and of receiving appeals. The choice of priests, which was

CH. XX. the latest acquisition or usurpation of the people, he restored to the pontifical college; and gave back to the senate the judicial power which C. Gracchus had transferred to the equestrian order. The assemblies by tribes were abolished, and the original method of electing by centuries was revived; and to prevent all premature canvassing for high offices, it was enacted that no person should be elected consul without having passed through the regular gradations of quæstor and pretor.

It was not safe to trifle with a legislator who had the means of inflicting whatever measure of punishment he thought fit for any act of misprision or disobedience. One of his ablest generals Lucretius Ofella presuming upon his great services in reducing Præneste, ventured to disregard this new order of succession in magistracies, and declared himself at once a competitor for the consulate. The immediate consequence was that the unsuspecting candidate was murdered in the forum; and when the assassin was seized and brought before Sylla, the dictator boldly avowed the act, and with an insolent levity told the people a sarcastic fable, warning

them against giving any similar provocation. *Ch. XX.*
He appeared in public, attended by twenty four lictors and all with axes. He did not however prevent the regular election of consuls, by whom the ordinary functions of executive government were carried on; and 671.
he himself during one year was consul as well as dictator.

In supplying the vacancies in the senate he had recourse to an unexceptionable and even popular expedient, by selecting about three hundred of the most respectable knights, and allowing to the tribes a right of voting upon the admission of each of them. This augmentation is placed some years earlier by Appian, in another part of his works: but among the confused and contradictory accounts of this period by various writers, and sometimes as in this instance by the same writer, that which appears most probable must be followed, where there is unfortunately no sure guide upon whose correctness and veracity reliance can be safely placed. It is difficult to credit and impossible to account for this permission of any election by tribes, to which Sylla had always the greatest aversion; but it seems particu-

CH. XX. larly inapplicable to a transaction where popular election had so little to do as in the choice of senators, for which case there was a direct precedent ready, if Sylla had concerned himself about precedents, of a dictator specially appointed to fill up their number. For the purpose of supplying the loss of citizens, and adding only such as should be firmly attached to his interest, he enfranchised ten thousand slaves who had belonged to the proscribed calling them all Cornelii: and he filled Italy in like manner with dependents, by settling the soldiers of twenty three legions, or according to others of forty seven, in such towns or districts as had been refractory, or by allotting to these veterans as colonists parts of the unappropriated territory of the republic.

673. In the third year of his high office, so violently obtained and so tyrannically exercised, the dictator formed the extraordinary resolution of abdicating his sovereignty, and of passing the remainder of his days in retirement as a private man. When he declared his intention to the people, who could not venture to believe

that he was in earnest or to give a free vent to their rejoicings, he professed himself ready to answer for any of his actions which might be questioned, and walked unconcerned and unattended about the forum. One young man was the only person who took advantage of this new dawn of liberty, and followed him to his door, unheeded and unpunished, loading him with every kind of abuse and obloquy. Sylla retired to a villa near Cumæ, where he died not many months after, in his sixtieth year, in the full possession of all his faculties, and according to Appian without any previous illness; but Plutarch says that his body was full of vermin and corruption, giving the names of some other known characters whose end was occasioned by the same loathsome disease. Having accomplished every object which he had in view, and done more good to his friends, and evil to his enemies, than any other mortal ever effected, it is probable that sovereignty grew a burden to him, when he had no further incentive either to use or to abuse it; and that the love of ease, which Sallust reckons a part of his

Ch. XX.

674.

Ch. XX. original character, returned upon him in full force, when he had no competitor to counteract it; perhaps too he might wish to indulge at a distance from all observation in the pleasures of the table to which he was naturally addicted; and in the society of buffoons players and musicians of both sexes, of whom one Metrobius though no longer in his prime continued to be regarded as his chief favourite. The two children whom he left by Metella were too young to afford any prospect of continuing the dynasty in his family, if he had retained the supreme power until his death; and if he had any affectionate and fatherly feelings towards them, he might think them less exposed, if they were not left with the cumbersome inheritance of sovereignty, and the envy attached to it hanging about their necks. Whatever might be his real motive, he evinced, as in all his other actions, the energy of no ordinary mind in relinquishing that monopoly of greatness and distinction which it had been the business of a tumultuous and anxious life to acquire: but the measures which he had taken for destroying and exterminating his adversaries, as well

as for rewarding and attaching his adherents were so efficacious; he had established so many manumitted satellites within the city, and stationed so many garrisons under the name of colonists in all the strong posts throughout Italy; that he had little to fear in a private station, when he had set all envy at defiance and surmounted all opposition at the head of the government. Ch. xx.

In the last year of his life he married Valeria, who in the theatre (where the women at that time sat promiscuously with the men) attracted his notice by her free behaviour, and by the advances which she made to him: he divorced not long before his fourth wife Metella, and removed her out of his house in the last stage of her declining life, that his good fortune, on which he prided himself, might not be clouded by any mournful event.

With regard to himself, the only symptom of apprehension that he discovered was for the fate of his body, which contrary to the practice of the Cornelian family he directed to be burned, that he might guard against the possibility of retaliation for those scan-

Ch. XX. dalous indignities with which he had treated the remains of his great rival.

M. Lepidus and Q. Catulus were consuls at the time of his death; of whom the former owed his election to the interest of Pompey contrary to Sylla's wishes, who with that wonderful penetration which distinguished all his remarks on character, warned him against strengthening a man who would become his enemy. Sylla felt so much offended at his advice being disregarded in a matter of such high importance, that Pompey was the only one of his principal friends whom he did not mention in his will, by which he appointed Lucullus guardian to his son.

The funeral of this great man gave a signal for the reviving of civil dissensions: it was proposed by his friends, that the body should be brought from Cumæ, and that the obsequies should be conducted with the greatest pomp in the field of Mars. Lepidus set himself at the head of the party who wished to degrade his memory; but this opposition was ineffectual. The last rites were paid with all possible splendour and magnificence; and after burn-

ing his body amidst an incredible profusion of perfumes and spices, a monument was erected to him on the spot, which remained in Plutarch's time. CH. XX.

CHAPTER XXI.

Lepidus.—Sertorius.—Servile War.

Lepidus endeavoured to countervail the preponderance of his colleague and the aristocracy, by proposing to rescind some of the obnoxious acts of the dictator, and by cultivating an interest among the Italian allies, giving them hopes that the lands taken away by Sylla should be restored to them. The senate took the alarm at this open tendency towards a renewal of their calamities, and exacted an oath from the two chief magistrates that they would not have recourse to arms: after which Lepidus went to take possession of his province of Transalpine Gaul; but he began also to levy troops; and when the senate recalled him for the purpose ostensibly of holding the assembly for election, he returned towards Rome at the head of an armed force, and made himself master of Etruria. Coming in this questionable character, he was refused ad-

mission into the city; upon which, calling all those who would join him to arms, he came to an engagement with Catulus, to whom Pompey was joined by a decree of the senate, near the Milvian bridge. The army of Lepidus was routed and dispersed; and he himself escaping into Sardinia died of a consumption brought on by grief and disappointment on account, as Plutarch relates, not of his public losses, but of his wife's infidelity. The remains of his faction were prevented from creating any further alarm in Italy by the surrender of Modena, which was their chief place of strength, to Pompey. *Ch. XXI.*

M. Brutus, the father of the illustrious Brutus, delivered it up: notwithstanding which he was put to death after the capitulation, leaving upon Pompey the stain of a flagrant breach of faith, accompanied by an unnecessary act of cruelty.

It appears from several fragments which are preserved, that Sallust wrote a detailed account of this short war; which, like that of Catiline, was put an end to almost as soon as it broke out.

The best part of the force collected by

Ch. XXI. Lepidus followed one of his lieutenants Perpenna (or Perperna) into Spain, whither the success and reputation of Sertorius attracted every thing that was hostile to the prevailing party in Rome. This able general, who had withdrawn early from the unequal contest in Italy against Sylla, was obliged by the same preponderating power to quit for a time his government in the province which was legally assigned to him; but after experiencing a variety of fortune, very amusingly related by his biographer Plutarch, and encountering a series of romantic adventures in Mauritania, in the Balearic and in the Fortunate Islands, as well as upon the ocean, he was recalled by the
675. Lusitanians, who placed him at their head for the purpose of opposing the Roman power.

It was impossible indeed to have made a more judicious choice: active and enterprising, but at the same time circumspect and never elated by success, Sertorius taught them with a small force to make a stand against large and regular armies; while his justice moderation and humanity gained him no less admiration and affection than

his military talents. Those who were driven out by Sylla's violence, and terrified at the state of things within the city, rejoiced to see a standard raised in the West, under which they might range themselves and wait for better times. A senate was chosen out of the most considerable of these refugees; and in the progress of the contest their hopes rose so high, that they talked of quitting the narrow limits of the province, and marching to emancipate Rome. This compound of foreign and civil war, which is not inelegantly styled by one of their epigrammatic historians the legacy of Sylla's proscription, gave considerable uneasiness to the dictator. Cotta, Domitius, Manlius and others who had to contend with him were found unequal to Sertorius; and when Metellus was sent to take the command, he only in some measure balanced his fortune and abilities without obtaining any advantage. CH. XXII

The accession of Perperna whose troops, contrary to his wish, ranged themselves under Sertorius, added considerably to the reputation of this rising cause. And the war assumed so formidable a character, that it was thought

Ch. XXI. expedient to send Pompey, towards whom the eyes of all men were turned after Sylla's
675. death, with a fresh army into Spain, and with a command equal in authority to that of Metellus. Still Sertorius during a succession of campaigns maintained his situation against their joint efforts, and held the whole territory within the Iberus. His losses were generally where his lieutenants commanded; but his victories were his own. In the great battles of Sucro and Saguntum, while Perpenna was routed by Metellus, he was superior to Pompey, whose military reputation he lowered by taking the town of Lauron, and reducing it to ashes before his eyes. At one period he so far harassed them both, by the rapidity of his movements and by cutting off all their supplies, that he obliged them to separate their forces from the want of subsistence. Metellus retired into Gaul; and Pompey, reduced to great difficulties for want of money as well as of all other necessaries, wrote from the territory of the Vaccæans desponding letters
678. to the senate; whilst at Rome, under the panic produced by these ill tidings, nothing was too extravagant for them to credit;

and those whose forebodings were the most gloomy, actually carried their apprehensions so far as to expect Sertorius at the city gates before Pompey. *Ch. XXI.*

A safe return to his country, even in an humble station, seems to have been the ultimate object of this distinguished commander; who though in need of every aid which he could receive from foreign powers, gave a remarkable instance in his correspondence with Mithridates, how sincerely he had the interest and grandeur of Rome at heart. This king, against whom war had been lately renewed under the conduct of L. Murena, before the last hopes of the Marians were extinguished by the capture of Præneste, proposed a treaty of alliance to Sertorius, offering a supply of money and ships, upon condition that he himself should hold the sovereignty of whatever he could acquire in Asia. Sertorius refused to guarantee any part of Asia to the king, except Cappadocia and Bithynia, both of which had been used to a monarchical government, and did not belong to the Romans. Mithridates acceded to these terms; but not without amazement at the

Ch. XXI. haughty magnanimity of an exile, who, driven to the coast of the Atlantic, and in open war against the government of Rome, ventured to prescribe bounds to him in the conquest of Asia, and to assign limits which must not be overstepped.

Sertorius, profiting perhaps by what he had learned under Marius, availed himself of the aid of superstition to gain an ascendant over the illiterate natives; for which purpose he made use of a white hind which was accidentally presented to him. The animal from his fondness growing excessively attached to him and perfectly docile, he gave out that she was the gift of Diana, and that she communicated the will of the divinity and foretold events to him.

Towards the close of his career his flattering prospects declined: jealousies and discontents arose in his own little senate; and those about him thwarted his affairs by ill using the native Spaniards, and purposely alienating their affections. Fresh levies arrived in the mean time from Italy, and the desertion of some made him apprehend that others might not remain more steady to his party. Distrust and anxiety originating from

these causes wrought an apparent change in his temper: instead of mild and humane, he became severe and cruel; and he disgusted the Spaniards by sacrificing some of their children, whom he kept as hostages at Osca, to his suspicion and resentment: his vigilance, which ought to have been still more alert under circumstances of so much uncertainty, relaxed; and he gave way to indulgencies in pleasure and luxury, to which in his prosperity he was an utter stranger. It is not unlikely that he had given cause of apprehension to some of the principal men who acted with him; or they might endeavour to palliate their conspiracy by fabricating such an excuse: but the name of Perpenna, holding the first place in his will as the principal heir, acquits him of all ill designs at least with regard to the chief conspirator. After the detection of one plot against his life, the assassins ran the hazard of a second discovery by the imprudence of one of their number who boasted of his own high prospects, if their design should succeed, to a favourite boy: but Sertorius's precaution was laid asleep, and he accepted an invitation to an entertainment in Perpenna's tent, Ch. XXI.

Ch. XXI. where he was basely murdered by the master of the feast, and those who were at table with him.

The traitor, unequal to the station which
680. his guilt had compassed, maintained for a short time a precarious authority by means of largesses and promises; but hazarding a battle againt Pompey, he was worsted and fled.

When the diligence of his pursuers discovered him in a thicket, he begged that he might be brought into their general's presence, to whom he had matters of the highest importance to disclose relating to the state of parties in Rome, together with the correspondence of many principal men, whose characters were not at all suspected of hold-
680. ing any intercourse with Sertorius. Pompey, with an aversion which became an honourable mind, ordered the wretch to be executed without seeing him; and his magnanimity and prudence did him equal honour in ordering all the letters written to Sertorius to be committed to the flames, unopened and unexamined.

679. Before the troubles in Spain were composed, Italy became again the seat of a de-

structive and desolating war; which springing from a small and contemptible original increased to a most alarming magnitude, and was not suppressed until the legions had suffered many disgraces as well as losses, from irregular armies of slaves and banditti. Spartacus a Thracian captive who had been bought by Lentulus, and trained as a gladiator, broke out with sixty or seventy others from their school at Capua; from whence seizing such weapons as they could find, and joined by some runaway slaves, they took possession of Mount Vesuvius, plundering and laying waste the adjacent country.

By a fair partition of the spoils the reputation of Spartacus rose. The multitudes of domestics and labourers who were in a state of slavery made every head of such an insurrection secure of finding associates; and the discontents in Campania and Samnium recently quelled by force, but not fully allayed, may further account for the astonishing numbers, amounting at one period to a hundred and twenty thousand, who are said to have ranged themselves under his banner. His first successes were against small bodies of troops

Ch. XXI.

levied under Clodius Glaber and P. Valerius: but two legions were soon after sent upon this service, headed by the consuls Gellius and Lentulus; the first of whom cut off twenty thousand of the insurgents with Crixus one of their chiefs. Spartacus however repaired this disaster, and beat back both the consuls, defeating Lentulus in the Apennines and C. Cassius, with the capture also of his camp, near Modena. From Modena he talked of marching directly upon Rome; and that his progress might not be impeded, he killed his captives and beasts of burden, and destroyed his superfluous baggage: but upon further though perhaps not better consideration, thinking his army not sufficiently equipped and disciplined, a great part being still without arms, he deferred his project, though a second and much more decisive victory over the two consuls in Picenum seemed to offer great facilities towards taking a city panic struck, like every great capital at the expected approach of such a ferocious multitude and incapable of resistance, while all the best generals and troops of the commonwealth were at a distance.

It is singular that the leader of such an army should have had either the will or the power to prohibit the use or introduction of gold and silver into his camp; but the only metals which he valued were iron and brass, and these he bought up at any price.

It was the third year of this disgraceful warfare, when upon occasion of holding the assembly for electing pretors there was a scarcity of candidates, from the dislike and dread which were entertained of the untoward posture of affairs, until M. Licinius Crassus came forward and boldly offered to undertake the office with the conduct of the war. He was before better known at the bar than in the camp, but his abilities which were considerable, and his wealth which grew to be immense, enabled him in the sequel of his life to act a conspicuous, though a secondary part in the great scenes which were preparatory to the extinction of the commonwealth. Six new legions were raised for him, to be added to the remains of the consular army, which he no sooner joined than he began by decimating them for their ignominious

Ch. XXI. conduct under their former commanders: but another account makes his military execution still more dreadful, extending it over the new as well as the old force, to the number of four thousand men, on account of a defeat which they suffered when he first led them to face the enemy. Having taught them by this severity to dread him as their general more than the slaves and gladiators, he had afterwards nothing but prosperous engagements; and Spartacus despairing of his affairs upon the continent, had thoughts of withdrawing into Sicily, a fertile field for servile commotions. The pretor drew lines and threw up entrenchments around him, to prevent his escape; but Spartacus forced them all, and marched
681. towards Brundisium; near to which place, and after various losses still at the head of forty thousand men, he maintained a long and desperate engagement, until he fell at last bravely fighting and covered with wounds. The body of the chief could not be distinguished in the mass of the slain. The remains of his followers, flying into the mountains, and dividing themselves into forty companies continued to

resist and keep up an unequal warfare against their pursuers, until they were all destroyed in various separate actions, with the exception of six thousand, whom the regular troops made prisoners and crucified along the whole line of road from Capua to Rome. Pompey in this conjuncture was upon his return with his victorious legions from Spain, aspiring to a second triumph; and it was Crassus's good fortune to bring the war in Campania to a prosperous conclusion only just before that favourite commander was near enough to have been appointed to supersede him, or at least to take a large share in the credit of the success: he seems however, from Plutarch's account, to have fallen in with and destroyed five thousand of the fugitives, and to have magnified this exploit beyond its desert in his despatch to the senate: certain it is that some of those who disliked Crassus, and Cicero in particular, were fond of ascribing to Pompey more than he was entitled to upon annihilating those last dregs of the servile insurrection. *Ch. XXI.*

Backed by two successful armies both Pompey and Crassus declared themselves

Ch. XXI. candidates for the consulate, and neither of them thought proper to dismiss his troops. The first was disqualified by Sylla's law, as having served no other office, and he besides was only in his thirty fifth year; but it was not a time when laws stood much in the way of those who were at the head of powerful forces; and Pompey, in addition to every prepossession in his favour, made the tribunes his friends by promising to annul whatever had been done during the dictator's power to the prejudice of their magistracy.

The rivalry of two such men spread universal alarm throughout all orders of men: entreaties were used by their respective friends and the wellwishers to the commonwealth, that they would lay aside their private differences for the public good; which Crassus had the good sense to accede to first; and in consequence of this constrained harmony, the two armies were disbanded, but not until after the election of their two chiefs for consuls. Pompey and Metellus triumphed over Spain; the former, still a knight, on the day before he entered upon his consular functions, enjoyed this high distinc-

tion for a second time, which had never before his own first triumph been granted to any individual of that order. The two colleagues, notwithstanding their apparent union, did not agree in their political measures. Pompey loved and courted popularity, and readily discharged his obligation to the people by restoring the tribunitial power to its former standard. Ch. XXI. 682.

There was nothing in Sylla's government so little exceptionable as his laws; and Pompey would have consulted the good of his country as well as his own interest much better if he had left a considerable part at least of the modifications by which that great engine of the democracy, the tribunitial power, was rendered incapable of doing mischief, while its remedial functions remained unimpaired.

The judicial power was also brought nearer to its former footing of being divided between the two highest orders; but the tribunes of the treasury were added as a third and distinct division to the other two, by a law of the pretor L. Aurelius Cotta. 682.

Who or what these tribunes were, no ancient authority enables us to ascertain;

Ch. XXI. nor is it easy to form any satisfactory conjecture: they are supposed by some to have been farmers of the public revenue, and consequently persons of the equestrian order, so as to have thrown a great preponderance into that scale: while another supposition represents them as belonging to the lowest class of the people, who were denominated in older times from the poll tax, the only tax to which they were liable, by the same word which in its more usual acceptation is applied to the public treasury. A part of the duty peculiarly belonging to persons bearing this office, seems to have been the payment of the army; but this employment suggests no reason for selecting them to take a share in the judicial functions; and yet there is a passage in the first Philippic of Cicero which distinctly mentions the centurions as having a right to be included in this roll or panel of judges, provided they were sufficiently qualified in respect of property; and Antony endeavoured to transfer this third division to the army, and to revive it, after it had been abolished by Julius Cæsar, in favour of the centurions and privates of one particular legion.

Since the passing of the Sempronian law by which Gracchus transferred the right of determining all cases of criminal law from the senators to the knights, frequent alterations had been made or attempted with regard to the persons of whom the panel should be composed, some of which were so transitory and short lived as to be known rather by the names of their authors, than by any very distinct record of their enactments. CH. XXI.

Q. Servilius Cæpio, when consul, divided the right of sitting in judgment equally between the two orders: Glaucia gave it back entirely to the knights. The Livian law revived that of Cæpio; and the Plautian is represented as having admitted, in some degree the lower order to a participation in this power, by taking an equal number of judges out of each of the thirty five tribes. 647. 664.

The judicial power may however be considered as chiefly vested in and exercised by the equestrian order for forty or fifty years together, until Sylla restored it exclusively to the senators, by whom it was abused to partial and corrupt purposes for about ten years; when Cotta, under the

Ch. XXI. auspices of Pompey, applied this seasonable and popular corrective. Julius Cæsar recurred to the provisions of the Servilian and Livian laws, repealing that part of the Aurelian which had introduced the novelty of a third estate; but the tribunes of the treasury were again in possession of this privilege in Augustus's time, for he is mentioned as having added a fourth division to the other three, taken from an inferior description in respect of property; which tends to prove incidentally that the very lowest class of the people could not have been admitted upon the panel under Cotta's law.

The number of those who sat to decide upon each cause were usually fifty one, selected out of a roll containing eighty one names, from which fifteen were struck off by each party; and these eighty one were drawn out of a much larger catalogue annually given in by the prætor, the number of which seems occasionally to have varied, but to have amounted to six hundred when the senators and knights were the two orders, out of which that list was formed. Upon Clodius's trial fifty six judges sat and gave sentence.

The war with the king of Pontus was suspended for a short time only, in consequence of the treaty concluded by Sylla. L. Murena, who was left in Asia with the two legions taken from Fimbria to settle and adjust whatever remained unfinished, was eager to seize any occasion for renewing hostilities, in the hope of a triumph upon his return; while Mithridates, by retaining parts of Cappadocia, and by making preparations upon a much larger scale than his projected expedition into the Bosphorus could reasonably require, afforded justifiable cause of suspicion. The suggestions of Archelaus, who deserted the service of his master by whom he began to be distrusted and reproached, added fresh fuel to the impatience of Murena, and determined him to march through Cappadocia as a measure of prevention, and to take possession of Comana one of the king's most considerable cities. The latitude of plundering was permitted to the greatest excess, and not restrained even with regard to altars and places of worship; after which unwarrantable proceedings in Cappadocia, carrying his depredations across the Halys Murena 670.

Ch. XXI.

Ch. XXI. made himself master of four hundred villages, and returned laden with the spoils into Phrygia and Galatia.

Mithridates, without opposing any resistance to his inroads, as if he had been most friendly to the Romans and fully satisfied of their equity, contented himself with complaining to the senate and to Sylla; but Callidius, who was despatched in consequence of this remonstrance with orders to Murena, though he brought a sort of general injunction against invading the territory of an ally, was supposed to communicate some private instructions which did not tend to stop these incursions and ravages; and the king, despairing of redress through amicable means, had at last recourse to arms.

Murena's military talents did not correspond with his eagerness to signalize himself, and he suffered considerable loss in two engagements near the river Halys, from whence he fled with great difficulty and through roads almost inaccessible into Phrygia. The credit of this well deserved success raised again the reputation of Mithridates, and made most of the Asiatic states desirous of renewing their connexion with him.

Whatever grievance men actually suffer is always the least tolerable; and though they had no reason to be satisfied with the king's restless suspicion and paroxysms of cruelty, yet the deliberate system of exaction and rapacity, which was all that they knew of the Roman government, subjected them to more systematic and permanent vexations, and to distresses of which they could foresee no end. The original fine imposed by Sylla upon the communities which he considered as delinquents was twenty thousand talents, which the taxgatherers and usurers, between them, had contrived actually to receive twice; and by the time that Lucullus arrived in Asia, they had by the operation of compound and extravagant interest brought the whole remaining arrear to no less a sum than one hundred and twenty thousand talents. Many of the wretched subjects who were ruined by these exactions, after giving up all their own valuables and the sacred treasures of their divinities, were obliged to sell their sons and daughters, if they had children of either sex whose beauty made them objects of desire, and to drag on their own miserable existence by placing themselves, as

Ch. XXI. their last stake, in the same state of servitude.

A second messenger, A. Gabinius, arrived from Sylla after Murena's defeat, with positive orders that he should stop all further hostilities against the king, and that he should endeavour to reconcile and settle all differences between Mithridates and the king of Cappadocia; by which means this second short war was concluded in less than three years from its commencement, and Murena was recalled by Sylla.

It is certain from a passage in Cicero, that Murena, whom he couples with Sylla
671. as a most distinguished general, triumphed over Mithridates; which discredits the details of the war as furnished by Appian, whose accounts are uniformly disadvantageous to the military talents of this commander.

Mithridates had the address by a proposed treaty of marriage to retain, with the consent of Ariobarzanes, at first, all that he held in Cappadocia, and even to make some new acquisitions. These however, upon a subsequent complaint from the Cappadocian monarch, and an order from

Sylla, were punctually given up; and Mithridates, apparently desirous of a settled peace, sent ambassadors to Rome, requiring that the terms might be distinct and reduced to writing, the want of which he complained of as affording an opening for aggression and dispute in his former negotiations with Sylla. The death of that extraordinary man happened before these ambassadors from Pontus reached Italy; and the senate, occupied and distracted by more pressing concerns, gave no immediate attention to the king's propositions. *Ch. XXI.*

Mithridates disgusted at this disregard, or feeling perhaps that the man whom of all others he feared the most was gone, or speculating upon fresh dissensions and commotions in Italy, seemed with renovated activity to turn his mind more seriously to war; but still unwilling to commit himself prematurely, as the first step towards advancing his great object he persuaded his son-in-law Tigranes to invade Cappadocia, as if it were by his own act and without any concert. Tigranes prided himself upon this easy conquest, and assumed the title of king of Armenia, carrying to his new and 676.

Ch. XXI. magnificent capital of Tigranocerta three hundred thousand men whom he forced from their native country. In the hope of profiting by the factions which divided Rome, Mithridates formed the alliance which has been already mentioned with Sertorius, who sent to him M. Varius to be admiral of his fleet, together with L. Magius and L. Fannius two of his senators to be of his council: Sertorius was to receive in return from the king three thousand talents and forty ships.

It was by the advice of these Romans
677. that Mithridates undertook his third war, with establishments and preparations suitable to the magnitude of the enterprise. Besides his former allies, he had the assistance of the Chalybes, Armenians, Scythians, Tauri, the remains of the old Greeks whose warlike posterity wandered about after the siege of Troy under the name of Achivi, the Heniochi, Leucosyri, and the inhabitants of the country of the Amazons about the river Thermodoon. The Bosphorus he had conquered, and made one of his sons king of it: the kingdom of the Colchi, which he had bestowed upon

another son, he took from him again, and put him to death. In Europe he had for allies the Sauromatæ, who composed three powerful nations; the tribes of the Thracians settled about the Danube, together with those under Mount Hæmus, and Rhodope, and the Basternæ accounted the bravest of them all. Out of these numerous auxiliaries, composing an army of one hundred and forty thousand infantry, which was afterwards more than doubled, and sixteen thousand horse he marched into Bithynia, which king Nicomedes, dying without children, had lately bequeathed by will to the Romans. 677.

Ch. XXI.

Cotta, who had Bithynia for his province as consul, was totally unacquainted with all military affairs: he therefore fled directly to Chalcedon, and shut himself up there. The king followed him. An attempt to relieve the place by Nudus prefect of the fleet failed, with the loss of three thousand men; and the royal navy, forcing the brazen chain which was stretched across the harbour, burned four of the Roman ships, and towed off sixty. 678.

Ch. XXI. In this unpromising posture L. Lucullus found the affairs of Asia when he was sent out as consul to conduct the war. It was a commission holding out the highest expectations of emolument as well as honour, which he was extremely anxious to obtain; but it was of the greatest consequence to keep Pompey at a distance, for fear that his premature return from Spain, and his wish to engross every great command, might probably counteract all other competitors; Lucullus therefore used every endeavour to procure a grant of money to enable Pompey to continue the war against Sertorius; and for himself, as the most effectual though not the most direct or honourable road towards his end, he had recourse to Præcia, a woman of talent, intrigue and influence, by whom Cethegus was governed, while Cethegus by his popularity governed every body else. As soon as by his attentions liberality and address Lucullus had made this lady his friend, Cethegus, though not previously well disposed towards him, promoted his views; and he was appointed, as a step to the more extensive

province, to the government of Cilicia, which was at that time vacant by the death of Octavius. Ch. XXI.

The vast numbers of which the king's army consisted, far from intimidating Lucullus, set him to consider in what way he might turn them to his own advantage: the demand of provisions for their daily supply must necessarily be immense, and could only be satisfied by preserving a free communication with the sources from which it was to be drawn both by sea and land. An elevated position was therefore made choice of by the consul, and fortified without delay, by which he was enabled to obstruct the passage into the interior of the country: the pressure soon began to be felt in the enemy's camp, and Mithridates, compelled to change his plan of operations, undertook the siege of Cyzicus. It is true 678.
that for the success of his scheme Lucullus was principally indebted to the treachery of L. Magius, one of those Roman counsellors placed by Sertorius about the king, who after the death of his general in Spain, intent only upon the means of returning to his country, entered into a secret corres-

Ch. XXI. pondence with the consul, and gave perfidious advice to Mithridates, which prevented any opposition being given to the Romans while they were fortifying that most important post.

The resolution and enterprising spirit of the inhabitants of Cyzicus, added to these causes which continued and increased the difficulties of subsistence in the king's camp, obliged him to retire precipitately in the night, and embark for Parium. His troops, considerably diminished by famine, and by an epidemic disease, which was the consequence of unwholesome diet, retreated towards Lampsacus, pursued and harassed by the Romans during their march: nor could they have escaped the danger of being besieged in their turn by Lucullus, if they had not taken advantage of their fleet and sailed for Nicomedia. But the same ill fortune attended the attempts of the king by sea; many of his ships were destroyed by the elements. His Roman admiral Varius was taken and put to death in a cave in Lemnos, where he had concealed himself with the other two commanders of his fleet: of whom the first,

named Alexander, was reserved by Lucullus to grace his triumph; and the other, who was an eunuch called Dionysius, swallowed a draught of poison. A course of tempestuous weather continued to persecute the remains of his fleet; and the king himself, after being forced to abandon his own ship when it was almost reduced to a wreck, had recourse to a small vessel belonging to the pirates, which landed him at Sinope. *Ch. XXI.*

When he was able again to take the field, a transitory gleam of success revived his hopes near the river Lycus, where a check was given to the Roman cavalry first, and subsequently to their infantry: but this momentary advantage was soon succeeded by the total and irretrievable ruin of his affairs, which had its cause in the mismanagement and selfishness of his generals, and not in any error or negligence of his own. It was upon an occa- 681.
sion of decamping unexpectedly, that those few who were intrusted with the secret set about securing and packing up their own baggage and property; an alarm was spread throughout the army which produced confusion and tumult, and ended in universal

Ch. XXI. panic. The Romans took advantage of it allowing the enemy no time for rallying: and there would have been an end of the war on that day by the capture of Mithridates, if the legionary soldiers as eager to plunder, as the Asiatic generals were to preserve, had not actually let him escape out of their hands, while their whole attention was diverted to rifling his costly baggage, and contesting with each other for the possession of some gold plate which happened to fall out of the paniers of a laden mule. He fled attended by two thousand horse to Comana, and from thence into the kingdom of Tigranes.

The fallen fortunes of the king occasioned the defection of many of his prefects, who submitted to Lucullus, and such cities as held out were taken. Sinope stood a siege for some time, and fell into his power after being deserted by its inhabitants, who trusted their safety to their ships. It was proclaimed a free city, as was also Amisus; and the inhabitants were invited to return and resettle there. Even in the king's own family homage was paid to the conqueror, and Lucullus accepted a golden

crown from Machares king of Bospliorus a son of Mithridates, whom he saluted as a friend of the Romans. Jealous to preserve the honour, or to guard against the inconstancy of the female part of his family, the fugitive monarch sent the eunuch Bacchus to his palace, with orders to despatch all his wives, his sisters and concubines, leaving to them only the choice of their mode of death. The Romans found every thing so abundant in the king's dominions, that a captive sold only for four drachmas, an ox for one, and goats sheep and other commodities proportionably low. *Ch. XXI.* 682.

Tigranes ordered his father-in-law to be entertained like a king, but kept him at a distance from his capital, and refused to admit him into his presence. His court is described as magnificent and ostentatious beyond all example; and four kings are reckoned among his usual retinue, who attended him on foot whenever he mounted his horse. Lucullus sent Clodius to demand from this proud monarch that he should deliver up the enemy of the Romans; and upon his refusal, with a decision equally bold and judicious, the proconsul ventured to

Ch. XXI. divide his very moderate force; and leaving Murena to besiege Tigronocerta, he himself, with two legions only and five hundred horse, crossed the Euphrates.

Tigranes had no notice of his approach; it was dangerous to spread unwelcome news in such a court, where the first reporter who ventured to name the Romans had just before been hanged as a disturber of the people. Numbers were however not wanting even upon the most sudden emergency in the Armenian army: two hundred and fifty thousand foot and fifty thousand horse were soon assembled, and the king's earliest care was to send six thousand of them to fetch his women out of Tigranocerta.

683. In his first meeting with Mithridates he was warned by the old monarch against risking a general engagement; but the excessive disparity in their forces created a contempt of the Romans in one who had never tried them. Lucullus, by choosing a rising ground and drawing on by a feigned retreat the enemy to pursue, disordered their ranks, and then attacking their drivers and falling upon their beasts of burden, created a confusion which soon ended in universal rout.

This brilliant victory was the last memorable action of Lucullus; wherever he was not engaged in person his troops suffered considerably under Fabius and Triarius, the latter of whom advancing rashly against the old king, lost his camp with the best part of his men, and no fewer than twenty four tribunes and one hundred and fifty centurions. Lucullus, with many eminent qualifications for command, had not that of gaining an entire ascendant over his troops, either by attachment or by discipline; they began to grow weary of remaining in Asia, and complained of seeing one war spring out of another; those who by their time of service were entitled to their discharge became clamorous to obtain their rights, and absolutely refused to follow him: rumours reached them from Rome that complaints were propagated in the forum of the unnecessary protraction of the war, that Lucullus found his own advantage in prolonging it, and that a successor must be sent out to finish it. Agitators were not wanting even among the officers to foment these discontents, the chief of whom was young Clodius the general's brother-in-law, who commenced that pestilent career in the

684.

685

684.

Bef. Xt. 68.

685.

Ch. XXI. camp, which he afterwards carried into the heart of the republic.

Glabrio one of the consuls of the last year was sent out not long after to take the command; and Lucullus, after dismissing those whom he could no longer legally retain, delivered over a part of his army to him; but he seems still to have continued in a sort of precarious authority, owing probably to the indolence or incapacity of Glabrio, though his remaining force was not such as could be depended upon for any important enterprise. Mithridates in the mean time had reestablished himself in his kingdom; he had driven Ariobarzanes out of Cappadocia, and his recent victory over Triarius and the apparent decline of the Roman cause had encouraged other kings and nations to join him. The attention of the Romans was drawn off for a short time from the prosecution of the war against the two kings, to another which more nearly concerned them, and against an enemy, who emboldened by impunity, and powerful in numbers disturbed the commerce of the world, and paid no sort of respect to the coast or flag of the republic.

CHAPTER XXII.

Piratic War.—Death of Mithridates.

The growth of this confederation of pirates is one of the most singular occurrences in the history of these times. They received encouragement from Mithridates during his first war, while the Romans had too much upon their hands both at home and at a distance to allow the destination of a sufficient force to the sole purpose of suppressing them. The success of their cruises, the extent of their captures, and their increasing opulence, attracted a multitude of those who either hung loose upon society, or who delighted in that sort of hazardous and lawless life, to cast in their lot amongst them; besides which, the long duration of hostilities, and the insecure condition of all Asia made many of the inland inhabitants who were desirous of remaining quiet, but found themselves liable to be overrun and plundered by both parties, quit their homes, and withdraw towards the

Ch. XXII. sea, with the design of rather turning free-booters and living upon others, than continuing exposed to similar evils in their own persons.

As soon as they thus began to acquire consistency and to feel their own strength, they made choice of the rocky coast and promontories of Cilicia and some small adjacent islands, as their principal establishment, and formed there a sort of government, whose professed object was to wage maritime war against all the world. Besides the property and persons of those who were afloat, there was nothing valuable upon any coast that was not subject to their depredations. Cnidus, Colophon, Samos, and innumerable other wealthy and considerable places, were taken and pillaged by them. What they did with regard to Italy itself was still more offensive to the dignity of Rome. Cajeta was invaded, and ransacked before the eyes of one of the pretors; and the fleet, which one of the consuls was appointed to command, was attacked and captured in the mouth of the Tiber. The children of Servilius who had conducted the war against them as consul, and several matrons of high con-

dition were carried off by them as prisoners from Misenum; in another of their predatory expeditions these corsairs made themselves masters of two pretors going into their provinces, with the twelve axes the ensigns of their magistracy. The tributes collected from distant provinces were intercepted on their passage to the seat of empire; and the supply of corn, which was still more material, became uncertain and precarious. *Ch. XXII.*

The measures which had been taken under Murena, Servilius Isauricus, and M. Antonius, to the last of whom a very extensive and extraordinary commission had been given when he was pretor, totally failed of success; and public opinion, grounded upon necessity, seemed to point out Pompey as the fittest man to put an end to this national disgrace; when A. Gabinius one of the tribunes seized the opportunity so fairly offered, of repaying that debt of gratitude which was due to the restorer of the tribunitial power from all those who were invested with it. He therefore proposed a law conferring upon Pompey the conduct of this war, with an authority almost unlimited for three years, extending over the whole sea;

Ch. XXII. and all the maritime provinces as far as fifty miles within land. The chiefs of the senate, Catulus, Hortensius, and the friends of Lucullus opposed this extraordinary grant; but it was carried by the general inclination of the people, whose decision was fully justified by the event. The immediate consequence of this vote showed the credit and importance attached to the name of Pompey; for the price of corn, which was unusually high, fell suddenly to a reasonable average, as if plenty had at once been restored to the market.

The fleet allotted to this service consisted of two hundred and seventy vessels of different descriptions, with a very large force of infantry and four thousand horse: six thousand Attic talents were voted, with a power of levying whatever further sums might be necessary: and Pompey was allowed to choose out of the senate twenty four or twenty five lieutenants, to each of whom he assigned a separate district, reserving to himself the coast of Cilicia, with a general superintendence over the whole. The judgment with which he distributed his force, added to the magnitude of the pre-

parations, and the astonishing celerity with which he disposed and inspected every thing, intimidated the pirates. Little resistance was made in any quarter, and in that where their chief strength lay every thing submitted to Pompey without a blow, so that in less than fifty days he drove the pirates out of all their places of retreat, and in four months put an end to the whole war. Seventy two ships were taken; three hundred and six were surrendered to him, together with vast quantities of timber, and all sorts of naval stores and arms. One hundred and twenty towns or forts, with vast numbers of Roman captives were also given up, many of whom, when they returned home, found their names inscribed upon cenotaphs. Of the freebooters who resisted ten thousand are said by Appian to have lost their lives; a much larger number than seems to agree with their easy subjugation and the short continuance of hostilities.

Ch. XXII. 685. Bef. Xt. 67.

If the conduct of this important campaign did credit to the military talent of Pompey, the method he took to prevent the recurrence of similar enormities did no less honour to him as a statesman; for he trans-

Ch. XXII. planted all those who were concerned in this lawless combination from the coast, and settled them in inland situations, where they became peaceable and industrious subjects, at a distance from that element which had been the scene of their crimes, and the temptation to commit them.

The reduction of the important island of
684. Crete was another object to which Pompey extended the ample powers of his commission. These islanders had not long before
681. gained a considerable victory over the pretor Antonius, who attacked them on account of their supposed engagements with Mithridates and the piratic states; against the latter of whom his special and very extensive
678. commission was principally directed. But this aggression, which was conducted without precaution or ability, was followed by a sudden pacification, unauthorized by the senate, which was no less censured at Rome than the military failure which led to it.

It was therefore determined not to ratify the treaty, but to send directly into the island three legions under Metellus, (afterwards surnamed Creticus) upon the expiration of his consulate, to finish the war in a

manner more becoming the dignity of the empire. The Cretans, though unequal to maintain themselves against this strong reinforcement in the field, were wanting neither in courage nor endurance; and rather than submit, they suffered every species of hardship and privation which brave men can bring their minds to undergo, before they will surrender their independence; when however the ultimate inutility of their resistance became but too apparent, it was at least considered as some alleviation of their calamity, if they could snatch the victory out of the hand of Metellus, from whom nothing but severity was to be expected. Ch. XXII

The clemency and moderation of Pompey were universally celebrated, and the islanders in this extremity found means to send a deputation to him, soliciting his protection, and submitting themselves to his disposal. Crete was within the limits of the very comprehensive range over which Pompey's authority was paramount according to the Gabinian law; and the desire of engrossing all honours to himself, the predominating passion in Pompey's mind, induced him not to decline the name of this conquest in

Ch. XXII. favour of another; though it was wholly independent of his exertions, and achieved before his interference was called for.

Metellus and his friends had great reason to feel offended; and their complaints, which were brought before the senate, might have been attended by those consequences which follow the dissensions of powerful men in a corrupted republic, if the services of Pompey had not again been wanted in a more distant field, to terminate another war of still greater magnitude, towards which also much had been already done by his predecessor, though much remained to be accomplished.

In the domestic administration of the republic, the office of censor was about this time revived, which from the dynasty of Sylla had been discontinued (it does not appear from what cause) during about seven-
682. teen years. L. Gellius and Cn. Lentulus, who were elected to that magistracy, exercised it with strictness and severity: but the censorian animadversions, whose influence depended chiefly upon opinion, had lost much of their effect, since riches and prodigality attracted admiration and favour, and it was

attended with less disrepute to be corrupt, than to be indigent. Ch. XXII.

A law of the tribune L. Roscius Otho allotting to the knights fourteen rows of benches in the theatre, next to those of the senators, was of the same period: it followed at the distance of about a century the law of Scipio Africanus, which made the first distinction as to places in favour of senators; and it is related that much of the popularity of that great man was lost by this aristocratic innovation. In the present instance, the influence of the equestrian order was daily increasing with the extension of the territories farms and tributes of the republic, which were generally managed rented and contracted for by individuals of this degree, whom the Romans styled publicans; and Pompey had perhaps added to the knights a temporary lustre, by eclipsing the splendour and consideration of the first order, while he before his consulate continued in the second. The passion of the people for games and theatrical exhibitions rendered the places from which they were to see them a matter of competition and importance: the variety and 685.

ch. xxii. number of these entertainments increased with the luxury of the times, and those who courted popular favour found no readier way to gain it than by magnificence and novelty in this kind of expense. C. Antonius when he was edile covered the scenes of the plays which were represented with silver, and Murena afterwards did the same; but J. Cæsar in the games given at his father's funeral made the whole apparatus of the stage of silver, so that the wild beasts trod upon plates of that metal.

A more objectionable mode of canvassing than this expenditure in shows and scenery was endeavoured to be checked by the tribune C. Cornelius. But the law which he proposed against bribery and corruption called forth powerful opponents on account of its rigorous enactments: serious dissensions were likely to ensue; public business was at a stand, and all elections suspended; until a less obnoxious proposition was adopted by the law of Calpurnius Piso, one of the consuls, which besides imposing a fine upon the delinquent, rendered him incapable of holding any office, or of sitting in the senate. The same tribune

Cornelius moved another act to prohibit any interference with the laws in the way of dispensation, except by the express authority of the people: it was an attack directed against the decrees of the senate, which not unfrequently assumed this illegal power. The old expedient of setting tribune against tribune was resorted to; and a qualified law seems to have passed, by which this dispensing power was regulated, so that it might not be exercised by a small number of senators nor clandestinely, without however being abolished. It is no less singular that such a prerogative as this, assumed by one order over the whole operation of the laws, should have been suffered to grow up amidst so many jealousies and complaints of the people upon much slighter causes, than that when it was once brought into question as a grievance it met with any indulgence. Ch. XXII.

But the proposition of the tribune Manilius to confer the conduct of the Mithridatic war upon Pompey was of more serious importance, and excited a still more lively interest, as inclination or jealousy or regard to the ancient maxims of the consti- 686.

Ch. XXII. tution in the constant change of commanders, made men favourable or adverse to throwing the whole power and fortune of the republic into the hands of one individual.

Many plausible reasons concurred in favour of the law; the fame and rapidity of Pompey's recent success, his being actually in Asia at the head of a victorious army, his character for disinterestedness and integrity, the mutinous spirit and total want of subordination in Lucullus's army, and the acknowledged incapacity of his successor Glabrio. The eloquence of Cicero who was pretor, exerted for the first time upon a political question, counteracted the abilities and authority of Hortensius and Catulus; and Cæsar, with that depth of thought which peculiarly distinguished his character, eagerly seized and furthered a precedent for granting extraordinary commands.

The legions, which had so clamorously solicited their discharge, voluntarily continued their services under Pompey; and Phraates king of Parthia renewed his alliance with Rome. Mithridates, after an ineffectual attempt to treat upon equal terms, was soon reduced to great straits in the

interior of his country by the want of water and provisions; from which, by his old expedient of decamping in the night and making forced marches, he gained only a temporary respite; for his army, wholly unfit to sustain an attack, fell into a state of panic upon the approach of the enemy, and suffered a total defeat with the loss of all their stores and provisions, and the camp itself. CH. XXII.

The old king, driven again to the necessity of abandoning his dominions, fled with surprising rapidity, carrying off the large treasure which he had still remaining, and collecting a considerable force in his flight. After passing the Euphrates, he came to the river Absarus, and wintered at Dioscuri, from whence he traversed the Scythian nations, making them his allies, either by persuasion or by force: he then entered the country about the lake Mæotis, the princes of which also became his friends. His mind, unsubdued by adversity, and fertile in resources, resolved upon a stupendous enterprise, which was no less than that of marching through Thrace and Macedonia, into Pannonia, and by crossing the Alps in that quarter to make Italy the seat of war.

Ch. XXII. Events which fell out in later ages justified the sagacity of the monarch with regard to the nations by which Rome was to be subdued, and the track they were to follow; but it was an achievement reserved for the days when the race and talents of the Pompeys and the Cæsars should be extinct.

Mithridates was preparing to dethrone his son Machares, who had joined the Romans; but the young monarch prevented his degradation by laying violent hands upon himself; and the father took possession of his kingdom of Bosphorus. His grandsons were not more loyal nor more fortunate; two of them were put to death by their father Tigranes; and the third, bearing the same name with his father, went over to Pompey: not long after which Tigranes himself, without any previous notification, rode up to the Roman camp and put himself into Pompey's power: he brought with him six thousand talents as a present to the general, fifty drachmas to be distributed to every private soldier, one thousand to each centurion, and ten thousand to the tribunes. It was Pompey's first care to reconcile the father to the son; and giving

the lesser Armenia to the latter, he allowed Tigranes to retain the remainder of his hereditary dominions, but upon condition that all his conquests should be ceded. This partition however was not of long continuance; the untractable temper of the young man would not suffer him to keep upon any terms with his father, and he lost his liberty for openly opposing him. Cappadocia was restored to Ariobarzanes with some addition of territory, and remained a distinct though tributary kingdom until under Tiberius it became a province. CH. XXII.

Pompey crossing Mount Taurus waged successful war against Antiochus Commagenus, and Darius the Mede, and against the Arabs under their king Aretas. Aristobulus, king of the Jews, was hardy enough to withstand the Roman power which gave occasion for the siege, and terminated in the capture of Jerusalem. The war originated in a dispute between Aristobulus and his elder brother Hyrcanus, sons of king Alexander Jannæus, who referred their pretensions to the arbitration of Pompey: but the younger, who had dispossessed Hyrcanus and had therefore most to lose, be-

C. XXII. coming apprehensive that the decision would be against him, drove his partisans to resistance, though he himself was detained a prisoner in Pompey's camp, during the siege of the higher town and the strong fortress of the Temple which held out three months.

When every thing was at the mercy of the conqueror, curiosity led him to examine the most holy and secret parts of that singular building, which a system of faith and worship differing from all the rest of the world, and the importance which their numbers and union began to give to the Jews at Rome naturally excited; but he left all the treasures untouched; and restoring Hyrcanus to the high priesthood, made him also governor of the country, but tributary to the Romans, and without the title of king.

Phœnicia, Syria, and Palestine were added to the empire without resistance. Phraates and Tigranes, who had begun hostilities, sent to court the aid of Pompey, in furtherance of their opposite pretensions; but he made use of his powerful interposition to compose their differences.

Mithridates made a last effort to make his peace with Rome, offering to pay tribute

if he might be permitted to retain only his hereditary states as Tigranes did; but Pompey replied, that he must come to him as the king of Armenia had done: and the old monarch not venturing to accept so dubious an invitation, saw no alternative but a vigorous prosecution of the war. His subjects, oppressed by the exactions of his collectors, in many parts revolted from him; some of his fortresses and towns were surrendered by his own sons to the Romans: a strong castle with a large amount of concealed treasure was delivered up by one of his wives, upon condition that the life of her son Xiphares might be spared; but the father in whose power he then was, took a savage revenge for her treachery by putting him instantly to death. A more dutiful and courageous daughter named Cleopatra held one of his cities for him against every attempt to wrest it out of her hands: several of his other daughters, whom he was sending as the intended brides of some of his new allies the Scythian princes, were conducted by their escort to Pompey and put into his power.

It could never have been conjectured that

Ch. XXII. the fall of Mithridates should have been occasioned at last by any of the amiable weaknesses of a forgiving temper, or the excesses of parental affection; but it was his fate, after showing such unnatural cruelty towards so many of his offspring, to become the victim of his favourite son and intended heir, whom he had pardoned and received into favour, after actually detecting him in a conspiracy against his life. This young prince, named Pharnaces, accompanied him in his march towards the Celtic tribes, with whose assistance he hoped to execute his grand project of invading Italy; but although apparently reconciled, his hatred towards his father remained unaltered.

The Roman deserters, who formed a considerable part of the force destined for the invasion of Italy, had the strongest objections against returning to their native country, where they were sure to be treated, if not victorious, as traitors: and this spirit of disobedience arising from their dislike of the projected enterprise, much fomented by the contrivance of Pharnaces, gained possession of the whole camp; so that in the course of a single night, without any previous symp-

toms which might give the least suspicion of the impending danger, the old king's authority was at an end, and his son was proclaimed as the reigning monarch. *Ch. XXII.*

Mithridates was never unprepared for the last of human calamities; and taking out some poison which he constantly carried about him, he gave a part to two of his daughters, who drank it off and expired: but his own body fortified by antidotes, in the preparation of which he was eminently skilful, resisted its deleterious effects; and he was obliged to ask the assistance of one of the Celtic chiefs, who despatched him with his sword. 689.

The duration of the Mithridatic war has been much overstated by historians; Justin extends it to forty six years, Appian to forty two, Florus and Eutropius to forty, Pliny to thirty; when in fact it lasted no more than twenty seven, reckoning from the first invasion of Cappadocia. Cicero, whose cotemporary authority is superior to all the rest, says that the debate upon the Manilian law happened in the twenty third year after the massacre of all the Roman citizens throughout Asia, which was the first overt act of

Ch. XXII. hostility. Pompey granted to Pharnaces the kingdom of Bosphorus, and declared him a friend and ally of the republic.

The body of his fallen enemy, which his degenerate son had sent to the Roman commander, was buried with funeral honours at Sinope. Towards Antiochus the last heir of the royal house of Seleucus, Pompey did not act with the same liberality, while he was distributing principalities and kingdoms among many who had been foes as well as friends: but his desire of reversing and obliterating whatever had been done by his predecessor, rendered him unfavourable to this prince, who had reassumed possession of Syria with the title of king, under the protection of Lucullus.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Catilinarian War.

WHILE the territory and reputation of the republic were thus extending themselves abroad, the government at home was brought to the very brink of ruin by a series of cabals and machinations among several powerful and aspiring men, in all of which L. Catiline was a principal actor.

After a corrupt administration of Africa, which was the province assigned to him at the expiration of his pretorship, his disappointment at not being allowed to sue for the consulate on account of a charge against him of rapine and extortion in that government, connected him with other discontented and ill designing men, at the head of whom stood Autronius Pætus, and L. Cornelius Sylla, both of whom were lately pronounced incapable of holding the chief magistracy to which they were elected, on account of being found guilty of bribery under

Ch. XXIII. the Calpurnian law. Cn. Piso, a young man of noble family, and desperate designs, was another member of this association, in which two still more considerable persons, Crassus and Cæsar, were also implicated.

The senate having some notice of this first plot which was directed against the lives of the two chief magistrates and several other senators, set a guard about the persons of the new consuls Cotta and Torquatus, who had accused Autronius and Sylla and succeeded in annulling their election. These precautions delayed or intimidated Crassus from keeping his appointment with the conspirators; and Cæsar, in consequence of his chief confederate's absence, declined giving the signal for the assassination of the obnoxious senators in the Capitol, by letting his gown fall from his shoulder, which he had engaged to do. A signal precipitately given upon a subsequent day by Catiline with his usual impetuosity, is said to have disconcerted the same project which was renewed, and again determined upon; after which, Piso was sent by the interest of Crassus as pretor into Spain, under the suspicion of still maintaining a close correspondence with Cæsar upon

the same treasonable designs; the nature and extent of which were never ascertained, owing to the premature death of Piso, who was assassinated on the journey towards his province. The knights who put an end to him were clients of Pompey, which could not fail to draw some obloquy upon their patron. *Ch. XXIII.*

The general alarm which these plots and rumours of impending danger spread throughout the city, turned the eyes of all men towards Cicero, and gave him a decided majority over the six competitors who canvassed against him for the consulate; of whom Catiline was one, and not the least powerful. 689. *Bef. Xt.* 63.

It was the first instance since the success of his countryman Marius, in which any man whose ancestors had not been ennobled by holding some curile magistracy, had attained that dignity. For his colleague he had C. Antonius, a man by no means unconnected with, nor adverse to Catiline; but it was Cicero's first care to gain him over by such means as were most likely to operate upon a covetous and self interested mind: a promise of the province of Mace-

CHAP. XXIII. donia induced him not to obstruct the measures of Cicero, and made him a convert to the interest of his country.

P. Lentulus one of the pretors, C. Cethegus, P. Antonius, P. and Ser. Sylla, and Q. Curius were the chief accomplices of Catiline among the senators; the last of whom, a vain and fickle man, after talking extravagantly of his future prospects and high expectations to his mistress Fulvia, put her in possession of the secret, which by means of this imprudence became a matter almost of general notoriety and public talk.

After the election of consuls, Fulvia persuaded her lover, on promise of reward, to reveal the whole to Cicero; so that he was enabled as soon as he entered into this important office to guard against the repeated attempts which were directed against his own life, as well as to anticipate the projects which were forming to overturn the government.

C. Manlius, a centurion, was despatched by Catiline into Etruria, to raise an army among the robbers and malcontents with whom that district abounded: the apprehension of danger increased in Rome; and

the senate; according to the old practice of the constitution, gave the commonwealth in charge to the consuls, to preserve it against injury. By this form of decree the whole civil, military, and judicial power was conveyed into their hands in the most unlimited extent, without the intervention of the people. CA. XXIII.

Several distinguished men were authorized by the senate to levy troops in different districts, where disturbances were breaking out; rewards were proclaimed to all who would come in and make discoveries; the bands of gladiators were ordered to be removed out of the city to Capua and other distant towns.

In this distracted state of affairs, Catiline ventured to appear in the senate with a view of repelling the suspicions which were entertained of him, and of vindicating his character by feigned humility and dissimulation.

Cicero attacked him in a spirited and powerful speech, to which when Catiline replied with invectives and abuse, the senators were so irritated that they called out Enemy! and Parricide! Catiline quitting the hall in a rage threatened that he would

ch. xxiii. extinguish the fire they were kindling about him, by pulling down every thing, and making a heap of ruins. The same night he proceeded with a few followers to the camp of Manlius, giving hopes to Cethegus and the rest of his speedy return with a powerful army, and encouraging them in the mean time by all possible means to strengthen their party, to attempt the life of the consul, and to make every preparation for accomplishing the work of destruction by fire and sword.

The senate declared Catiline and Manlius enemies, ordering Antonius to take the field against them without delay, and offering indemnity to all who would lay down their arms before a certain day. Not one man took advantage of this proclamation. The cause of the conspirators, so far from being considered as desperate, had the good wishes of many who did not openly espouse it: the needy, the discontented, and the profligate, flowing from every quarter into Rome as to a common receptacle and sink, formed a large and dangerous part of its population. The immense gains and losses by Sylla's wars were fresh in the minds of all men;

there were perhaps few without some secret wish to augment what they possessed, or regain what they had lost, and still fewer who cared enough for the constitution to risk any thing in its defence. In private families party spirit ran high; Fulvius a senator's son was put to death by his father, for attempting to join Catiline. *Ch. XXIII.*

There were at this conjuncture ambassadors from the Allobroges in Rome, who had been deputed to make complaints of the extortion and rapacity of their governors, whom Lentulus thought, from their temper of mind and from the nature of their grievances, likely to concur in any design against the government; and he accordingly by one of his accomplices opened the whole project to them.

It was a matter of long and anxious deliberation with these foreigners what part to take; but at last the fortune of the republic prevailed, and they made a full discovery to the consul. The remaining steps towards the conviction of the offenders were taken under his immediate direction. The Gauls were instructed to require credentials from the principal men, which they might carry

ch. XXIII. home; and it was contrived to arrest them with this incontrovertible evidence about them. Cicero immediately convened the senate, and bringing in Lentulus whom he held by the hand, he ordered Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinius to be produced in custody. The ambassadors holding the letters were confronted with the conspirators: the proofs were too evident to admit of doubt: Lentulus was ordered to abdicate his office, and then he was committed with the others to safe custody, not in any public prison, but in the houses of their friends.

¶ An accusation was preferred shortly after by another of the accomplices who was taken up against Crassus; but the senate voted the charge false, and committed the informer to prison. Sallust says that he himself heard Crassus say that this indignity was put upon him by Cicero; but in the next passage he bears testimony to Cicero's honour and probity with regard to Cæsar, against whom Q. Catulus and C. Piso pressed him to suffer a false accusation to be brought.

The atrocious projects of the conspirators, particularly that of setting fire to the

city, wrought a sudden conversion in the minds of the populace, and made them rejoice in their detection; but it still remained with the senate to determine upon their ultimate doom. In this memorable debate D. Junius Silanus, who was first called upon as consul elect, moved that the criminals should be condemned to death: which seemed to be the prevailing opinion, until Cæsar made a considerable impression on the Fathers, and on Silanus himself, by proposing the substitution of perpetual imprisonment instead of death, but superadding the confiscation of all their property. To avoid the suspicion of undue lenity or compassion, he laboured to represent this as the more dreadful sentence of the two, that death was a release from all pain and torment, and that such enormous delinquents as these traitors deserved a long and continued punishment without hope of relief. CH. XXIII.

In the speech which Cicero delivered, he professed himself ready and able to carry into effect whichever of the two propositions the senate should in its wisdom adopt; but the inclination of his mind was sufficiently indicated by the facility with which he

ch. xxiii. showed that the first of them might be executed. The preparations which he had made for it, the indifference he professed with regard to his own personal danger, or the obloquy that might fall on him, and all the other topics of example and exhortation with which that oration abounds, tend to no other conclusion, though it does not in direct words contain so decided an opinion as might reasonably have been expected from such a man holding the highest executive office upon so great an occasion. It was Cato in fact who brought back the wavering senate to measures of severity, and deservedly engrossed the chief credit of that salutary rigour, to which the consul, as soon as the decree passed, lost not a moment in giving effect. He left the senate house attended by the three officers of criminal justice, and removing Lentulus from the custody of his kinsman, he conducted him to the common gaol, giving the other four conspirators in charge to the pretors to be brought thither immediately.

Upon their arrival at the gaol, they were let down into the vaulted dungeon, where

they instantly were strangled with cords, and their necks broken. CH. XXIII.

In the account given by Sallust of this remarkable conspiracy, the principal actor in detecting and frustrating it holds a less distinguished place than his conduct entitles him to. It is true that in the early part, though praise is sparingly bestowed, it is not absolutely withheld: the election of Cicero is fairly attributed to the universal opinion of his talents and capacity, which overcame the disadvantage of his obscure birth; no suspicion is insinuated with regard to his courage or firmness; and commendation is given both to the ability and sound principle of his first invective against Catiline, which is referred to without transcribing, because it was published by himself and in the hands of every one: the methods which the consul used for gaining over one of the accomplices, and for conciliating his own wavering and ill affected colleague, the dexterity which he manifested in tutoring and seizing the Gallic ambassadors with the letters, and the irresistible effect produced by confronting them with the conspirators, are ascribed exclusively to

CA. XXIII. Cicero. It is in the conclusion of the business that the historian withholds from him his due share, and contrives to eclipse him by the preponderating character of Cato; though it could not be unknown to any witness of those transactions, that Cato himself hailed Cicero from the rostra as the father of his country; that Catulus applied the same appellation to him in the senate; and that a public thanksgiving to the gods was decreed in his name, for having preserved the city from conflagration, the citizens from massacre, and Italy from war: an honour never before voted to any man, except for military achievements. The enmity of Sallust to Cicero is notorious, which probably had its origin in Milo's cause when Sallust was tribune; for before that time, he is mentioned in one of the letters to Quintus as being present in a circle of Cicero's literary friends. Milo is said to have chastised the historian severely, when he detected him with his wife Fausta Sylla's daughter. The coarse invective against Cicero which is preserved among the works of Sallust assumes a character of authenticity, to which its contents would not en-

title it, from Quintilian who quotes the first words of it. Ch. XXIII.

In reading the two celebrated compositions given as the speeches of Cæsar and Cato, it is difficult to believe that they were really spoken in the exact form in which they are transmitted to us: if the general heads and principal arguments were such as they used, the order and distribution, and above all, the diction bear evidently the stamp of Sallust: there are not a few sentences which carry a striking resemblance to the sentiments contained in his own preface, and to passages in his narration from which they are almost transcripts. The topic introduced by Cæsar, expressing his tuter disbelief of a future state, was undoubtedly used, as it is taken notice of in the fourth Catilinarian of Cicero; but it is not a little singular to find an opinion so contrary to the religion of the state, and so subversive of morals, openly avowed in the senate, and rather acquiesced in, than controverted by Cato, without being condemned or questioned by the consul. In Cicero it was certainly not any predilection to this growing turn towards infidelity,

CH. XXIII. which made him abstain from attacking it upon this occasion; for the first of his orations against Catiline spoken not many days before in the same assembly, concludes with an impressive and solemn appeal to Jupiter, that he would in his vengeance visit with eternal torments the traitor and his accomplices both in this life, and after death.

Cæsar never questions the power of the senate to inflict capital punishment, nor urges the right of appealing to the people; nor does he more than slightly touch upon the Porcian and Sempronian laws, by which the persons of citizens were protected, and the old punishment of scourging and beheading were commuted for banishment. The consuls, it is true, had by virtue of the solemn caution given to them by the senate an absolute power even of life and death; and Cicero observes, incidentally, that those who were adjudged enemies could no longer possess any of the rights of citizens; but still in a constitution so unstable and ill defined, it is surprising to find no recurrence to first principles, and no question raised concerning this uncontrolled tyranny exercised by one order of the state over all

the rest, in consequence of its own decree alone, whether it had precedent in its favour or not. *Ch. XXIII.*

Though security was thus restored within the walls, there remained no inconsiderable degree of danger from the head of the conspiracy, who was not only alive but in the command of an army equal in number to two legions, but of which about a fourth only had military arms. The news from Rome began to spread among them a spirit of desertion: the roads towards Gaul were guarded by Q. Metellus Celer with three legions; and all attempts to escape in that direction, by forced marches, and through unfrequented passes, were prevented. Antonius was pursuing, and almost come up with them; and their passage in every other line was completely closed by mountains. Reduced to this extremity, Catiline resolved to try the fortune of war against the consular legions, which were commanded on account of Antonius's indisposition by his lieutenant Petreius.

Every effort which could distinguish an able general or become a valiant soldier was made to balance the disparity of num-

CH. XXIII.

bers, discipline, and arms; but when he saw no hope left, and all those about him laid low, he threw himself into the thickest of the fight and fell covered with wounds. His body was found far advanced beyond his own ranks in the midst of his slaughtered enemies, not quite deprived of breath, and still retaining in his countenance that ferocity of mind which characterized him through life.

Among the memorable events of Cicero's consulate, the birth of Octavius connects by a singular coincidence the temporary preservation of the republic with its final subversion. On resigning his magistracy, the consul was prohibited from addressing the people by one of the new tribunes Metellus, who objected to him that he had put citizens to death without allowing them to be heard in their defence; and he proceeded afterwards to make a more direct attack upon him on the same charge, in which Cæsar who was pretor supported him: but it was reserved for another disturber of the public peace to take vengeance for this salutary act upon the head of Cicero, and to involve him in a train of unfortunate consequences, to which the ma-

lignity of some, and the culpable connivance of others left him undeservedly exposed. CH. XXIII.

In the mean time, the political connexion and factious projects of Cæsar and Metellus gave so great umbrage, and were deemed so alarming, that the senate by a novel and rigorous resolution suspended them from executing their offices; but the pretor by means of a timely and prudent submission soon made his peace and was restored, while the tribune withdrew to his brother-in-law Pompey.

The mysteries of the Bona Dea, or good Goddess, at which it was an act of sacrilege for any male to assist, were celebrating according to annual custom in the pretor's house by his wife Pompeia, whose gallant, P. Clodius, introduced himself among the female attendants, habited and disguised as one of them. Some accident discovered him, and occasioned an immediate alarm; but he notwithstanding contrived to make his escape out of the house so as not to be taken in the fact: the matter however immediately became public, and occasioned general scandal and indignation. The ordi-

Ch. XXIII. nary modes of justice either were not applicable to the crime, or the atrocity of the case seemed to call for some more solemn method of trial; in the management of which, or in the strange defect of the common law (if such cases were unprovided for) the culprit found his safety. The senate seemed in earnest with regard to punishing him; and by a vast majority of four hundred against fifteen, showed their sense of the necessity of passing a law for bringing Clodius to a trial before the people; but one of the consuls Pupius
691. Piso, and one of the tribunes Furius Calenus were his firm friends, who exerted themselves so successfully as to prevent the passing of any act until they coupled it with a clause which might render it ineffectual: this was done by substituting a select jury of senators and knights, with a pretor as president, instead of submitting the cause to the people at large; and the event of this expedient was the acquittal of the prisoner by thirty one votes against twenty five; a sentence most offensive to public morals, which added another flagrant instance to the

numerous examples of judicial venality and infamy by which this last age of the commonwealth was disgraced. CH. XXIII.

In this juncture Pompey returned home in the plenitude of dignity and reputation, and without a rival in power: his first act, which was to disband his army, gave general satisfaction; and the merit of this moderation was exclusively his own, for there were not wanting powerful advisers, particularly Cæsar and Metellus, who recommended to him to render himself master of the government, and to set his authority at once above control: he affected great consideration and regard for Cicero; but Cicero thought that he discovered in him more envy than good will, with a total want of candour and sincerity, as well as of every thing truly great and magnanimous. In his next step Pompey showed less regard for public opinion, when he insisted upon making one of his creatures, L. Afranius consul, and carried his election by dint of money, which was distributed with very little caution or secrecy, partly in his own gardens, and the remainder by the direct agency of the consul Piso.

CH. XXIII. The knights were put into ill humour by a decree for calling those to account who sat as judges upon Clodius and had taken money for their verdict; and by another resolution affecting the whole order more directly, which was a refusal of the senate to lower the rent of the Asiatic revenues, which the contracting parties alleged that they had taken of the censors at a valuation which they could not afford to pay. Unreasonable as their request was, it was highly desirable to maintain their union with the senate, which it had been the labour and pride of Cicero's consulate to consolidate, and he therefore afforded them his support, in opposition to the rigid maxims of Cato, who would tolerate no deviations from the strict rule of right, nor endure any compromise of a just demand for the sake of expediency. If it be true however, that he gave his assent not long after to the bribery by which Cæsar's colleague was elected, it is difficult to determine by what standard of morality or of common sense he directed his conduct: the value of keeping the two higher orders together was a much greater object to the

real interests of the commonwealth, than that of the difference of rent which could be gained or lost; and corruption was unquestionably a crime by natural as well as positive law; whereas the letting of public land at a higher or lower rate was a matter which might fairly be determined by motives of political discretion. Pompey's object in forcing a consul of his own upon the people was to obtain the confirmation and ratification of every thing which he had done in Asia together with an allotment of lands to his soldiers; but a powerful party in the senate, headed by the other consul Metellus in conjunction with Lucullus, counteracted any comprehensive and general approbation without previous and mature examination. The tribune Flavius had the audacity to commit the opposing consul to prison; but the indignation which was excited, induced Pompey to restrain the violence of his partisan, and to procure the enlargement of the chief magistrate. An expedient was suggested by Cicero with regard to the agrarian allotment to the troops which seemed likely to satisfy both parties, when the sudden alarm of a Gallic

692.

CH. XXIII. war, which was never heard at Rome even at this period without consternation, suspended all other proceedings.

Cæsar after the office of pretor obtained Spain for his province; in the administration of which he acquired great reputation. On his return he declared himself a candidate for the consulate, designing Lucceius for his colleague, who engaged to furnish whatever funds might be necessary for bribing the centuries; but the aristocracy, afraid of Cæsar's inclinations and power, set up Bibulus against Lucceius, and encountered him in his own way, by actually
693. paying the same sum that he had only promised; and by the superior charm of prompt payment, their point was so far carried as to exclude Lucceius. Cato is reported by Suetonius to have been acquainted with, and to have approved this questionable compliance with the corruption of the times.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Triumvirate.

CÆSAR was under great obligations to Crassus for becoming security to his clamorous creditors for a vast sum (not less than £200,000 of our money), which he used to tell his friends with great frankness and good humour that he wanted, to be worth nothing.

Crassus's view was to strengthen himself by the growing influence of a rising man against the ascendency of Pompey; but Cæsar, who possessed greater depth and penetration, discerned that it would be more useful to join Pompey than to counterbalance him; and that the commonwealth, which might eventually support itself during their separation, must inevitably be at their mercy if they became confederates; he laboured therefore with all his abilities and address to effect a reconciliation between the other two.

Ch. XXIV. Nothing can be so disposed to forgive injuries and to forget offences, as the temper of a true politician in the pursuit of power; the old rivals sacrificed their jealousy hatred and antipathy to the passion of sharing for a time what can never be shared long; and the first triumvirate was the fruit of this spirit of concession and accommodation. The great unpopularity of this unexpected coalition naturally fell on Pompey, while the chief advantage could accrue to no other than Cæsar. With regard to Cicero, they held an ambiguous course; desirous of conciliating, if he could be induced to concur in their measures, but feeling no scruples about making him over to Clodius, if he should presume to thwart or contradict them. This violent incendiary was at that time openly threatening his ruin; and as the readiest road to it he was endeavouring to obtain a private law for his own adoption into a plebeian family, that he might be qualified to hold the office of tribune.

It happened, most unfortunately for Cicero, that some expressions which fell from him in pleading a cause, gave offence to

the consul; upon which, without coming to any sort of explanation, he instantly procured the passing of Clodius's act, which was done irregularly and unconstitutionally, while Pompey assisted and even officiated as augur in this grave mummery of fraudulent adoption. The office to which Clodius aspired was obtained with much less difficulty than had attended the preliminary step of his passing into another family, owing in a great measure to a rumour industriously fabricated, that he was upon ill terms with the triumvirate. Ch. XXIV.

The consulate of Cæsar was opened in the true spirit of the party of which he put himself at the head, and rather resembled the proceedings of one of the old tribunes: he proposed an agrarian law for dividing Campania among twenty thousand poor citizens, who should have the additional qualification of being the fathers of three children; and when he found his colleague, together with the senate and three of the tribunes, strenuous in opposing it, an armed mob cleared the forum of their adversaries, wounded the adverse tribunes, and broke the fasces of the consul Bibulus not without imminent danger to

ch. xxiv. his person. A clause was added to the law, that all magistrates and the whole senate should take an oath to observe and maintain its provisions.

The senate was cold and timid in noticing or vindicating this insult offered to the supreme authority; and Bibulus retiring in disgust, shut himself up in his house for the remaining eight months, determined to appear no more in public, but occasionally fulminating out his edicts, to which state of surly inactivity the temper of the times attached no ordinary degree of reputation and even of popularity; so general was the aversion to the three copartners, who engrossed all power to themselves, and used it so despotically.

Next to the people, Cæsar courted the equestrian order, whose affections he won by remitting a third of their stipulated rents to the farmers of the territory, who had been long soliciting it: but in this business he proceeded so intemperately as to order Cato to prison for continuing to condemn this scandalous waste of public money for factious purposes. Cato made no resistance when they were carrying him into confine-

ment; but the consul, reflecting upon the rashness of this illegal commitment, contrived by one of the tribunes to whom he could dictate to set him at liberty. His next proceeding was to gratify Pompey by a confirmation and approval of all his acts and grants in Asia, in the course of which Cæsar managed to intimidate and humble Lucullus so effectually, as to render him a very humble suppliant instead of a formidable antagonist. ca. XXIV.

On the expiration of his year the assignment of the provinces was taken from the senate, and by an unprecedented act of the people, on the proposition of the tribune Vatinius, Cisalpine Gaul with Illyricum was conferred upon Cæsar for five years. The senate meanly enough added the other Gaul to his government, to prevent his recurring a second time to the people.

CHAPTER XXV.

Banishment and Return of Cicero.

The desperate and outrageous measures of the new tribune disgraced the consulate of L. Calpurnius Piso the father-in-law of
694. Cæsar, and of A. Gabinius the creature of Pompey, who had sold themselves to Clodius in return for the two lucrative provinces of Macedonia and Syria, which were promised as their rewards on the expiration of their magistracy.

Clodius began his career by promulgating some popular laws; one of which was for distributing corn gratuitously to the poor citizens; another was for preventing the interruption of public meetings by any magistrate while the augurs were observing the heavens, which included the repeal of
(586.) (616.) the Ælian and Fusian laws, both of which were considered as salutary checks against the hasty proceedings of popular assemblies, and the passing of laws without due

consideration: a third law effected the re-establishing of the old fraternities which the senate had abolished; and a fourth had for its object to restrict the power of the censors. But when he had made a favourable impression upon the public by these propositions, he opened his grand project for the destruction of Cicero, by proposing an act interdicting from fire and water every person who had taken away the life of a citizen uncondemned, and without trial. *Ch. XXV.*

Though Cicero could not be affected by the true meaning of such a law, he and his friends naturally took the alarm, when they foresaw that if the law should pass, those who had power enough to carry it through, might also proceed to put upon it their own sense and interpretation. Fully possessed with this apprehension, he precipitately changed his habit, and appeared in mourning, as a suppliant. Twenty thousand of those who respected and adhered to him did the same; and the senators came to a vote to appear in mourning also, which would have been universally complied with, if the consuls by their edict had not expressly forbidden them: Gabinius by his own authority sent

Ch. XXV. L. Lamia, a respectable knight, into banishment for his zeal and exertion in Cicero's behalf. His other friends, however, continued not less strenuous and active; a large party of the young nobility offered to meet every danger, and to resist the passing of the act by the same sort of violence that was used to carry it: but the almost open enmity of Cæsar, and the perfidious dereliction of Pompey, backed by the counsel of some more timorous advisers, particularly Hortensius and Atticus, induced Cicero to yield to the storm, and to withdraw from the scene of contention, rather than kindle a civil war within the city, which he had so lately preserved from a similar calamity.

No sooner was his departure known, than Clodius moved and carried a bill of outlawry, interdicting Cicero from the use of fire and water, and making it a capital offence to receive or harbour him. After acquitting himself of his engagement to the consuls, by assigning to them their provinces, with whatever troops and money they pleased, he proceeded with his gang of miscreants to plunder and destroy Cicero's houses, both within the city and in the country; the

consuls shared the spoils, and received many of the most valuable effects, while the area of his Palatine house was consecrated, to prevent any private building from ever standing there again, and a temple dedicated to Liberty was ordered to be erected on the spot. The tribune devised a less offensive method for removing Cato to a distance from the scene of these outrages, and had even the craft to make him a party to the validity of the acts of his tribunate, (which Cato never would consent to impugn) by imposing upon him a commission for depriving Ptolemy of his kingdom of Cyprus, and reducing it to a province. Odious and unjust as this project was, Cato undertook the execution of it when it was thrown upon him, with less reluctance perhaps than became his integrity and love of justice. Cato was incapable of making any indirect profit from this tempting commission: but he discharged it with an ostentation of disinterestedness; and made a parade of the enormous amount of this illgotten wealth, which he carried upon his return into the treasury. The unfortunate king, who could not endure the approach of a Roman upon such a mis-

Ch. XXV. sion, though that Roman had all the virtues of Cato, put an end to his life by poison.

The excessive rigour of the first law against Cicero received some mitigation; and the circle of his banishment was limited to four hundred miles from the city: he therefore embarked for Dyrrachium, and met with the kindest reception from his friend Cn. Plancius, who was quæstor in Macedonia: but his spirit sunk under the weight of adversity; he found no consolation in his philosophy, nor amusement in his studies: regretting every thing which he had left, dissatisfied with every thing which had been done, complaining of all his friends, and angry above all with himself for having listened to them, he gave a loose to querulous expressions of anguish and despondency, which while they obliged his well wishers, and even his wife Terentia to expostulate with him upon his weakness, gave his enemies the malignant pleasure of reporting that his senses were deranged by his misfortunes. The insolence of Clodius, emboldened by success, led him to make an attempt at humbling Pompey; in defiance of whom he seized the person of

the son of king Tigranes, who was in the custody of the pretor Flavius; and when the magistrate endeavoured to recover his charge by force, Clodius was ready for him with a superior body of armed men, who killed some of the pretor's attendants, and drove away the rest. Pompey himself was not exempt from danger, or he perhaps pretended, as upon some other occasions, to apprehend it: there was already reason enough to feel tired and ashamed of the indirect encouragement which he had given to the machinations of such an incendiary in his attacks upon others; but when he discovered signs of their advancing to affect himself, his own apprehensions brought to his mind the cruel persecution which Cicero had suffered, and suggested serious thoughts of recalling him. No measure could be more universally desired; the inclinations of all ranks of men concurred in promoting it, with the exception of Clodius and a very small faction, whose physical means of obstructing it consisted in a band of gladiators, and their legal means in two of the new tribunes, who were gained over by corruption. *Ch. XXV.*

Ch. XXV. Milo, another of the tribunes, impeached Clodius for various misdemeanours and acts of violence against the public peace; and when he was prevented from pursuing constitutional remedies by illegal edicts from the consul Metellus, by Appius one of the pretors, and the tribune Serranus, he determined to repress outrage by outrage, and appearing at the head of a band of gladiators, converted this dangerous and unlawful force to the defence of his country. At length the good sense and perseverance of the public made its way against the obstacles which the obstinacy of some few still continued to oppose: vast numbers of the Italian citizens were drawn together to lend their assistance; and in one of the fullest assemblies which ever met, the unanimous voice of all the centuries recalled their illustrious exile.

His journey from Brundisium to Rome, and his reception there, were such as the imagination of the vainest of men could hardly have anticipated, nor the equanimity of the most philosophical have born without pride and exultation. The violence of Clodius, however, was not damped by

the triumphant return of his enemy, and the executive government was still without the power or the will to control him: he made an attack upon the workmen who were employed in rebuilding Cicero's house upon the Palatine hill, and actually set that of his brother Quintus on fire. All attempts which were made for bringing him to trial for these repeated offences were baffled, either by legal chicanery, or by mobs and tumults. Milo was the only man who kept him at all in check, though the means he used were equally illegal, and utterly incompatible with all regular government. Clodius was, however, elected edile without opposition, notwithstanding the odium and infamy with which he was loaded. Crassus was suspected of favouring him for the purpose of depressing Pompey, and even of forming designs against Pompey's life, which the latter more than insinuated in one of his speeches to the senate; but Cæsar, alarmed by their disunion, prevailed upon them both to come to him at Lucca, where he passed the winter, and, as a common friend, he effected their reconciliation. It was there determined that

Ch. XXV.

695.

Ch. XXV. they should again be colleagues in the consulate; but disputes between the consul
696. Marcellinus and the tribune C. Cato produced an interregnum before an election could be held; and the interregnum was put an end to by an irregular assumption of the chief magistracy, without observing even the form of an election.

No sooner were Pompey and Crassus
697. in office than they excluded Cato, who was
Bef. Xt. 55. one of the candidates, from the pretorship, to bestow it upon Vatinius; and Trebonius, one of their tribunes, proposed a law for assigning Spain and Africa to Pompey for five years; Syria, with authority to make war against the unoffending Parthians, to Crassus; and to Cæsar a prolongation of his command for the same term. This dangerous and alarming measure, by which the junto of three became legally possessed of the whole military power of the republic, passed, not without strong opposition from the aristocracy, and from two of the tribunes; but it was carried, according to the practice of legislation in these times of violence, by an armed rabble; and Cato was thrown into prison by Trebonius.

The higher classes were no less profligate and venal, than the lower were turbulent and corrupt; of which, among many examples, one deserves to be recorded on account of its singular audacity, and the unquestionable authority of a private letter from Cicero, upon which it rests. *Ch. XXV.*

It was a conspiracy formed between both the consuls L. Domitius and Ap. Claudius, and two of the consular candidates Memmius and Calvinus for reciprocal services; in which the latter undertook, under a penal bond, to provide three augurs who should aver that they were present at the passing of a law, and two consular senators, who should give evidence that they were present at the making of a decree, relating to the assignment and equipment of provinces for the consuls, when no such law had been even thought of, nor any question ever proposed to the senate upon that subject. Some disagreement between the parties brought the instrument itself, with the names of the subscribing witnesses before the conscript fathers, whose indignation being not a little roused, an inquiry by the 698.

Ch. XXV. mode of private judgment was moved; but a tribune interposed, and stopped all further proceedings; under the plausible plea of prohibiting all inquisitions not specially authorised by the people. The integrity and character of one honest and excellent individual was in some few instances resorted to for supplying the place of tribunals and judicial decisions, which were fallen into contempt; and it is related that in the very same year all the tribunitial candidates deposited a sum of money in the hands of Cato, which was to be forfeited by such of them as he should adjudge guilty of any undue practices during their canvass.

King Ptolemy, who had been driven out of Egypt by his subjects, after long solicitation and attendance quitted Rome about this time, without obtaining his suit, but with the discredit of having pursued it by unwarrantable means. Several of the leading men were ambitious of being selected for the commission of replacing him upon the throne; but their jealousies and cabals obstructed the pretensions of each

other; and a silly prophecy produced or forged by the tribune C. Cato, as a warning out of the Sibylline books, rendered the people fearful of restoring him by force of arms; which was notwithstanding all such religious scruples effected by Gabinius. ch. xxv.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Parthian War. Death of Clodius. Milo's Trial.

The eagerness and pertinacity of Crassus to engage in an unpopular and hazardous warfare are not a little singular: although he had exhibited considerable talents for military command, both as to skill, authority, and success in subduing Spartacus, the habits of his latter life were those which regarded the management and increase of his immense property, the business of the forum, the causes of his friends and clients, and the maintaining of that dignified station attendant upon enormous wealth, when it is coupled with great political sway and respectable abilities. His love of riches, inordinate as it was, must have been contrary to all appearances subservient to his desire of power. The coalition into which he had entered made it every day more manifest to the world, and last of all to himself, that he was the inferior member of it; and if

habit had reconciled him to the preponderance of Pompey's glory, the fresh laurels which Cæsar was gathering in Gaul, revived the military ardour of his younger days, and sent him in quest of an untried and unoffending, but most formidable enemy. ch. xxvi.

Evil prognostics attended his departure: one of the tribunes Ateius Capito dressed up a small altar at the gate through which he passed, and solemnly devoted him to destruction. Ateius was afterwards removed from the senate by the censor Appius who was one of the augurs, for falsifying the auspices; but if the gods were to be admitted as judges in a case of their own omens, the tribune unquestionably proved a more sagacious interpreter of their occult meaning than the augur.

In this disastrous expedition, except the throwing of a bridge over the Euphrates, and some trifling advantages in Mesopotamia, nothing prospered; nor were indeed any steps taken which could afford a reasonable prospect of success.

Instead of marching directly towards Babylon or Seleucia, Crassus returned to winter in Syria; and as soon as he resumed

Ch. XXVI. his operations, instead of ascertaining the numbers the resources and the mode of fighting of the foe, or the nature of the country through which his route lay, he gave all his confidence to a perfidious Arab, who led him across the plain country, abandoning the protection which the river and the mountains might have afforded; from which line of natural defence his best officers, and particularly his quæstor C. Cassius advised him upon no account to deviate. When the Parthians came upon him unexpectedly in one of these vast plains, the form in which he drew up his forces was so ill adapted to resist or frustrate their attacks, that an immense slaughter was made by their tremendous arrows, while the aggressors remained out of the reach of the Roman arms. Publius, the son of Crassus, whom Cæsar had sent to him with a thousand Gallic horse, seemed to gain a momentary superiority; but while he was eagerly pressing upon the fugitives, they returned upon him with augmented numbers, harassing and transfixing their pursuers from a distance, until that fine body of cavalry was annihilated: the generous

youth disdaining to save himself by flight, after the loss of his brave companions, ordered his armour bearer to despatch him. CH. XXVI.

The main army, struck with consternation, retreated in the silence of the night to Carræ; where the same fatality induced Crassus to repose his confidence in another foreigner, by whom it was equally abused; and in retiring from thence the Parthians were again discovered in full force advancing upon him. In this dreadful embarrassment, the project of a convention for their safe departure was treacherously held out by the enemy's general Surena; which Crassus himself does not appear to have relied upon, but to have been obliged by his own dispirited and tumultuous soldiers to accept. In this last act of his life he discovered the signs of no degenerate mind, wishing that his misfortune and erroneous judgment might be imputed rather to his own credulity than to the mutinous conduct of his troops. The Parthians affected to receive the Roman commander with profound respect; seeing him on foot they mounted him upon a fine horse; but some of their equerries immediately began to make the horse unruly, which

Ch. XXVI. one of the Roman officers observing caught the bridle, and drawing a sword despatched the Parthian on the spot: the affray then
699. Bef. Xt. 53. became general, and Crassus with those about him was cut down. His head and hand were carried to king Orodes, and exhibited at a magnificent entertainment, while the words and music of the Bacchæ of Euripedes formed a sort of accompaniment to this barbarous spectacle. The loss of the Romans in killed was about twenty thousand, and half that number in prisoners.

Cassius returned to Carræ before Crassus's death, and from thence made his way into Assyria with five hundred horse: the remains of the legions came in by degrees and joined him; and he managed this inconsiderable force so ably as to preserve Syria in its allegiance, defeating and expelling the Parthians who invaded it.

Julia Pompey's wife died in childbed some months before Crassus's overthrow, so that the tie of connexion and affection between Cæsar and his son-in-law was dissolved at the moment when the only man who held the political balance between them was removed. Pompey soon after

married Cornelia the daughter of Scipio, and the widow of young Crassus. It seems to have been the drift of his ultimate ambition to become dictator; but his dissimulation kept even his best friends in doubt with regard to his real wishes; he probably thought that sooner or later he must be called upon to take that high situation; and in the mean time his phlegmatic temper cared little about the disorderly and disgraceful state of the government. The consular elections were continually suspended by some of the tribunes; in one instance the interregnum lasted for six months; and, after much agitation with regard to creating a dictator, ended in the choice of Domitius Calvinus and M. Messala, whom Pompey recommended for consuls. CH. XXVII

Among the candidates for the following year was Milo; who as he surpassed all the others in the profuseness of expense, had a reasonable prospect of success, besides being supported by the interest of the senate, and even of the tribunes; when a casual meeting between him and his old antagonist Clodius upon the Appian Way near Rome put an end to the life of the latter, and completely

Ch. XXVI. stopped the political career of the other. The body of Clodius was brought back and placed by one of his kinsmen, attended by a prodigious multitude, before the rostra; from whence in a state of fury they ran with it to the senate house, and raising a funeral pile of the benches and woodwork set the whole on fire: the flames communicated to the building itself, and consumed with it the Porcian hall. Disturbances arising from such a cause, and springing from the faction of Clodius, naturally alarmed the senate, particularly as the commonwealth was again without chief magistrates, owing to the obstruction of the tribunes. A decree was therefore made, that the interrex for the time being, the tribunes, and above all Pompey should take charge of the state that it might sustain no detriment, with a commission to the latter for levying troops. The interrex took the novel step of declaring Pompey sole consul after two months suspension of any regular election.

700. Bef. Xt. 52.

He began his magistracy by promulgating a new law relating to the method of conducting trials, and limiting the time allowed for the accusation as well as the defence; the

immediate occasion of which was the approaching trial of Milo for the murder of Clodius. His second law was for preventing bribery and corruption, one of the objects of which was to disqualify all future consuls and pretors from holding provinces until five years after the expiration of their offices; but he dispensed with or broke through this very provision, almost in the moment that he was enacting it, by prolonging to himself the government of Spain for five years, and by personally soliciting the bench of judges to let off Scipio Cornelia's father, who was indicted under some of these new regulations, and notoriously guilty. A third law he obtained in favour of Cæsar, dispensing with his personal attendance as a candidate for the consulate; and during the last five months of his year he associated as his colleague in office his new father-in-law. CH. XXVI.

Pompey's dislike of Milo operated more to his prejudice than the admirable defence of Cicero, and the authority of Cato's verdict who was one of the thirteen who acquitted him, could do in his favour; for a large majority of the other judges, thirty

Ch. XXVI. eight in number, found him guilty. Obliged to quit his native soil as a condemned man, Milo relinquished the brilliant career upon which he was preparing to enter, and chose Marseilles as the place of his exile.

The oration which has come down to us is not an exact transcript of what was spoken in this famous cause; for Cicero retouched and embellished his original draught until he satisfied himself that nothing could be added to this wonderful monument of his eloquence and gratitude. The case which he makes for his client appears no less strong both in facts and circumstantial evidence, than in reasoning and oratory; but we have not the proofs and arguments on the other side to set in comparison: and it is said that Milo complained of his advocate for not having spoken with the same ability that he wrote. The strength or weakness of a cause was not however in this brilliant era of the Roman Bar, the question of the greatest moment towards the decision. Cicero had some right to expect, in this extreme peril of his friend, a return from Pompey for the defence of his creature Gabinius, which had been no easy

point for Cicero to concede, as it in truth was a complete compromise of his dignity and consistency. What he had done in compliance with the importunity of one great man who professed himself his friend, could hardly be refused to another who had as good pretensions; and the defence of Vatinius was a fit sequel to the other in compliment to Cæsar, by whom he had been almost equally ill used.

Cicero's mortification must have been extreme to find that after such unworthy submissions were exacted from himself, it was in vain to call upon these allpowerful but hollow friends for reciprocity, when all the return which he required was not that they should sanction, but only that they should prevent injustice. The beautiful language of Cicero may indeed throw a brilliant flash of wit, or a graceful shadow over these transactions, and we may be caught by his charitable maxim that enmities should be composed of perishable materials, while friendships ought to be everlasting; but it is impossible not to wish that he had consulted his own honest feelings

CH. XXVI. rather than his politics, and had recollected that aversions justly conceived upon public and solid grounds ought never to be obliterated in compliance with the fluctuations of times and circumstances.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Civil War.—Death of Pompey.

THE term of Cæsar's government, which was drawing towards its close, afforded abundant matter for conjecture, coupled with great anxiety as to the state of things which might be likely to ensue, either in the event of his laying down his command, or determining to keep it. Rumours were circulated of his not thinking himself safe without an army, while Pompey had so long a term in the province of Spain; and that if the one were required to disband his troops, the same should be expected from the other. The consul C. Marcellus was the first who directly agitated the question 702.
of sending a successor into Gaul; to which he added, that as the war was at an end, there could be no reason for continuing the military establishment, nor for indulging Cæsar in canvassing for the consulate in a different way from all other candidates: he

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contended also that the freedom of the city, which had been conferred upon some of the colonies which Cæsar settled beyond the Po was an improper grant, and ought not to be confirmed.

Pompey was against doing any thing before the natural expiration of the ten years, which stopped for that time any further agitation of this question; and if he entertained suspicions of Cæsar's designs, he either thought that he might hesitate as to carrying them into effect, or that his own good fortune would raise up some unforeseen and unprovided means of frustrating them. The only rational precaution which was taken under the semblance of equal dealing towards the two generals, was the depriving Cæsar of two legions, upon pretence of sending them to the Parthian war; and though Pompey was ordered to spare a legion for the same service, he fixed upon one which he had formerly raised and lent to Cæsar; and when the two came into Italy from Gaul, they were immediately put under Pompey's command.

Cæsar continued to hold the language of moderation, as if he was ready to bear

every thing while there was any hope left of justice being done to him; but he drew his troops near to the frontier of his province, and showed himself well prepared for extremities, if matters could not be adjusted to his satisfaction. Chap. XXVII.

About six months before his government was to cease, it was moved in the senate by Scipio, that Cæsar should dismiss his army by a certain day, or on his refusal to obey the decree, that he should be declared an enemy: upon which two of the tribunes, Mark Antony and Q. Cassius interposed their negative. It was determined that this interposition should be taken into consideration; and at the next meeting, that form of solemn decree reserved for cases of the most imminent danger was proposed and adopted, that the consuls pretors tribunes and proconsuls who were at hand, should take care that the commonwealth sustained no injury.

The two tribunes, alarmed for their personal safety, or thinking to afford a plausible pretext to Cæsar for marching on, withdrew from the city in disguise, and joined him, taking with them C. Curio, a

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tribune of the former year, a young man of shining abilities and distinguished eloquence, whom Cæsar by his liberality had gained over from the other party, to which the earlier steps of his political career, and the friendship of Cicero seemed to have attached him: but the extravagance and dissipation of the times drew all men of considerable talents, aspiring ambition, and ruined fortunes within the vortex of Cæsar's patronage, who set no bounds to his prodigality in relieving their wants or discharging their encumbrances.

703. *Bef. Xt.* 49.

Whatever doubts and forebodings may have perplexed Cæsar's mind, or whatever visions may have presented themselves to his imagination upon the brink of the Rubicon, he takes no notice of them in his own account, nor even names that little stream, which has acquired celebrity in no other way than as being the extreme boundary of his province. When his resolution was formed of marching into Italy, he addressed the soldiers of the only legion which he had with him, upon the indignities which his enemies endeavoured to put upon him, and on the violation of the constitution in the

persons of the tribunes; and finding them hearty in his support, he marched them on to Ariminum, where Antony and Q. Cassius met him. Chap. XXVII.

The consternation at Rome was extreme: the consul Lentulus, according to Cæsar's account, was in the very act of taking the deposit of accumulated wealth reserved for great emergencies, out of the interior and sacred treasury within the Temple of Saturn which he had opened, when a false alarm of Cæsar being at the gates terrified him into a precipitate flight, leaving that great sinew of war at the disposal of the enemy: his colleague Marcellus, and the greater part of the magistrates followed him. Pompey was gone the day before to his two legions in Apulia; and they all assembled at Capua, not thinking themselves safe at any less distance from Rome.

Lentulus began by liberating a band of gladiators whom Cæsar kept there, mounting them to serve as cavalry; but upon representations being made to him that a measure of that sort would prejudice the cause, they were distributed among the different

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families of Campania, and kept in safe custody. It is not a little remarkable, if the thing really happened, that a body of such men should so quietly suffer themselves to be remanded into a state of slavery. In Calabria Pompey gave arms to slaves and shepherds, and formed a body of three hundred cavalry out of them.

It was advantageous to Cæsar's cause to diminish the odium of aggression, by making continual propositions for peace, which were in fact so moderate, that those who are unused to the intemperance and absurdity with which all parties and all party men reason must wonder how they could have been rejected. There were probably few on either side who sincerely desired an amicable adjustment: Curio is stigmatized by Velleius Paterculus as having actually prevented it on Cæsar's part; upon Pompey's Cicero and Cato exerted themselves strenuously for negotiating, but they found no followers nor coadjutors; and the first of them retired disgusted and irresolute as to the part he should take; while the latter accepted a commission to hold Sicily against Cæsar; but he continued to complain loudly

of the unnecessary war into which Pompey had driven them, and the false hopes which he had held out with regard to his means and preparations for resistance.

In fact Pompey either had not formed the determination to quit Italy, or wanted the courage to communicate it to his adherents; the first consequence of which was the loss of more than thirty cohorts with which Domitius shut himself up in Corfinium, not doubting that he should be relieved. The surrender of this place by the voluntary act of the soldiers destined to guard it, besides the reputation which it added to Cæsar's arms, gave him also an opportunity of gaining a high character for clemency, by letting Domitius and the principal men with all their property depart in perfect security wherever they pleased: the cohorts readily took the oath to serve under Cæsar, and were sent into Sicily. Pursuing his route, and meeting with nothing but universal signs of submission and attachment, he reached Brundisium immediately after the consuls and great part of the army had crossed the sea to Dyrrhachium; but Pompey still held the town with twenty cohorts;

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and as soon as the transports which carried over the first division were sent back, he himself embarked in the night and followed them, losing only two of his vessels with the soldiers on board, which struck against a mole that Cæsar had thrown up with extraordinary despatch, to prevent or annoy their embarcation.

Cæsar had no fleet with which he could pursue the fugitives, and therefore despairing of an immediate conclusion of the whole business by one blow he determined to go into Spain, after making provision for taking possession of Sardinia and for driving Cato out of Sicily; both of which were effected with little difficulty: but the latter not without giving occasion to severe reflections upon Cato's conduct.

The vigour with which Cæsar carried on the war in Spain equalled the promptitude with which he undertook it, and demonstrated the justness of his reasoning in depriving Pompey of a retreat to such an army placed in a country possessing so many local advantages. The lieutenants Afranius and Petreius who had the charge of the two provinces drew together their

legions, and determined to make Ilerda the seat of the war on account of the singular conveniencies of its situation, after having been prevented by the celerity of the enemy's movements from opposing his passage over the Pyrenees. They were masters of the whole supplies and stores of the country; and if they had been opposed to a general of less talent and enterprise than Cæsar, they must inevitably have mastered him, or expelled him by famine: so great in fact were the difficulties of his situation, and the necessities of his army for a considerable time so urgent, that his failure was believed to be certain and irrecoverable.

It is wonderful how dexterously he contrived to extricate himself from this most unpromising situation, to relieve his own soldiers from their distress, and to place the Pompeians under the same embarrassments but in an augmented degree: harassing them with his superior cavalry whenever they moved, and intercepting their way to the Iberus after he had forced them to quit Ilerda, but constantly declining, against the advice of all his officers and the impatience of his men, a general action, because he

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saw that every thing would be done as it were spontaneously, and more securely without it. By placing his camp as near as possible to the enemy conversations and renewals of old acquaintance naturally passed between the men on both sides. The high renown of Cæsar's exploits did every thing for him in these friendly meetings; and he was upon the very point of gaining over the whole force by these easy and conciliating means. Petreius however saw the danger just before the explosion was ready to take effect, and he still retained sufficient authority to give a check to this dangerous intercourse, and to recall them to a sense of their duty; but he wanted the address to extricate them from their embarrassment, or to provide the means of subsistence: the pressure of want returned upon them with all its aggravations, until they were driven to solicit the clemency of the conqueror, and to submit to his conditions. He engaged that no injury should be done to the commanders if they would quit the province and disband the army; and that he would not oblige any of the soldiers to inlist under him against their will.

From the time that Cæsar came within sight of the enemy, it took him only forty days to accomplish this great work; the remainder of the province voluntarily submitted, and all the strong places were delivered up to him. Upon his return, he received the surrender of the important town of Marseilles, which had shut the gates against him on his progress towards Spain, and had endured a siege, the operations of which were very ably conducted by Trebonius and D. Brutus, while the defence was managed by L. Domitius with equal courage and perseverance.

At Rome there was no longer either power or disposition to oppose the wishes of Cæsar's friends: he was nominated dictator in his absence by the pretor M. Lepidus, in consequence of a law passed for that purpose; and the first use he made of that high office when he reached the city was to hold an assembly for electing consuls, in which he himself was chosen, with P. Servilius Isauricus. He remained no more than eleven days in Rome, during which he made some temperate and salutary regulations with regard to that ever-

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lasting source of tumult and discontent, the state of debtors and creditors, steering a middle course between cancelling the obligations, and allowing the right of immediately exacting payment in money: he procured also in the regular form of laws a reversal of several harsh sentences which had been pronounced against some of his friends; after which, abdicating the dictatorship, he hastened to embark his army at Brundisium.

Pompey's admirals, of whom Bibulus was the chief, were totally uninformed with regard to Cæsar's motions, or took no rational means to obstruct them; with an immense fleet at their disposal, drawn together from all parts of the world, they wanted vigilance or skill to guard the narrow channel of the Adriatic; and Cæsar landed seven legions at Pharsalus, before any rumour of his arrival had reached the Grecian shore. On their return towards Brundisium, Bibulus intercepted and burned thirty of the empty transports. Several towns upon the coast were taken possession of by Cæsar; and it was with difficulty that Dyrrachium, the great magazine of all Pompey's stores and military engines, was prevented from

falling into his hands. Another proposition for disbanding both armies, and leaving the terms of peace to be settled by the senate and people, was made by Cæsar without success; and Pompey declared that he would receive no further overtures. Chap. XXVII.

M. Cælius Rufus one of the pretors took advantage of Cæsar's departure, to raise disturbances in Rome, by undertaking the cause of the debtors, and endeavouring to make them dissatisfied with the late regulations, which he proposed to annul for the purpose of enacting the specious but dishonest expedient of new tables, according to the Latin term, which implies the expunging of all obligations for payment. Trebonius, another pretor who had given great satisfaction by the equity of his decisions in conformity to Cæsar's law, was assaulted and driven from his tribunal. The consul Servilius brought before the senate these tumultuous proceedings; and it was decreed that Cælius should be removed from his office; in consequence of which the consul would not suffer him to appear in the senate house, nor to harangue the people. Cælius, however, far from being intimidated, began to

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make attempts upon a larger scale, and by means of Milo, whom he sent for from his place of exile, hoped to set the government at defiance. Milo had still some of his old gladiators attached to him, and he fixed upon the country about Turin as the fittest point from which their operations should commence, by means of the shepherds and peasants whom he endeavoured to raise and train to arms; but he was killed in attempting to storm some inconsiderable place; and Cælius met the same fate soon after, from some of Cæsar's cavalry, whom he attempted to gain over to his party by offering money.

The remainder of Cæsar's army was transported by Antony to Nymphæum with the same facility which had attended the first expedition; for though the Pompeians were more upon their guard, and directed their utmost vigilance to prevent their sailing or disembarking, all their precaution was unavailing, and they even lost sixteen of their own ships by pursuing the transports too closely upon the shore. The impatience with which Cæsar waited many months for their arrival is mentioned by

himself; other authors have added, that he rashly took an open boat with a determination of going over to Brundisium to hasten their departure; and that he was hardly prevailed upon to desist from his wild project and reland, by a state of sea and wind which it was impossible for any small vessel to encounter. Antony effected his junction with Cæsar, notwithstanding all Pompey's endeavours to intercept him; after which, that he might still encounter the enemy with a superior force, Pompey sent for Scipio with his army out of Asia. Chap. XXVII.

All his magazines and military stores were in Dyrrachium, of which Cæsar, with an army much less numerous, ventured to form the blockade, embracing within his lines no less a circuit than fifteen miles. The military skill, the extent of the works, and the unremitting labour on both sides were astonishing: but the privations and wants were greater in the camp of the besiegers who had not the sea open to them. When a loaf of Cæsar's bread, composed of grass and roots, was shown to Pompey by some of his officers, with expressions of contempt and ridicule, it occasioned very

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different sensations in his more reflecting mind, and made him shudder at the difficulty of conquering men who would submit to eat the provender of beasts, rather than desert their post, or forego their object. Unfortunately for him, this just estimate of the character of Cæsar's army was shaken, if not reversed, by an accidental advantage in forcing a part of his lines; of which, if due use had been made in the moment of confusion, the war might possibly have had a very different issue; but this temporary triumph ended only in making Cæsar abandon the circumvallation, which it was become impossible for him to carry on to any purpose, while it elated the magistrates and senators in the opposite camp, and gave them an opportunity of confounding and overwhelming Pompey's better judgment, by the commendations which they bestowed upon his success and talents.

He was therefore prevailed upon to follow Cæsar, who decamping suddenly by night made his retreat through Thessaly; and the fatal resolution of giving him battle
704. was carried into effect at Pharsalia. The numerous and well appointed cavalry on

which his chief confidence was placed, were broken and defeated on the first onset, and the rout, which began from them, soon became general. Pompey seems to have made no exertion worthy of himself to rally his troops or continue the fight, but retiring to his tent in a state of dejection he beheld the enemy, flushed with victory, beginning to storm his camp: here again, though he exhorted others to resist, he did not place himself at their head, nor animate them by his presence and example; but mounting his horse, and throwing off the ensigns of command he rode to Larissa, and from thence to the seashore, where he put himself on board of a storeship with about three of those who followed him. Chap. XXVII.

The disproportion of loss in the two armies was excessive; Cæsar says that on his side it amounted to no more than two hundred, while there fell fifteen thousand on Pompey's, besides twenty four thousand who surrendered. What appears to set the stamp of truth on Cæsar's account, is the candid acknowledgment of his own disaster in the preceding affair, where he admits the loss of nine hundred and sixty of his men,

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and the complete frustration of his whole plan for the campaign. It may be generally observed with regard to his writings, that when he speaks of himself, it is without affectation or arrogance; when of his friends, it is with kindness and respect; when he has occasion to mention their failures, as in relating Curio's defeat and death in Africa, he does it with tenderness and indulgence: there is something particularly ingenuous and unassuming on the part of so consummate a general, in acknowledging how much the events of war are beyond all human control, and in ascribing so large a share to the power of fortune. Of his enemies he speaks without insult or contempt; and even in giving his judgment upon a great military question, though he disapproves Pompey's mode of waiting for the attack, his own reasons for a contrary opinion are urged with deference and candour. The confident expectations which were entertained in Pompey's camp, the pretensions and disputes of the leading senators about the division of patronage and offices; and the confiscations which were supposed to be just falling within their grasp, fur-

nished him with some amusing anecdotes, which it was impossible to resist inserting; nor can we wonder, that while all the preparations for celebrating their anticipated victory with luxury and festivity were matters of ocular observation, he devoted some few passages in his Commentaries to recording the vanity and presumption of their expectations. Labienus who had deserted him, and Scipio who gave him so much trouble by rekindling the war, are those of whom he speaks with the greatest rancour, in relating the cruelty of the first, and the tyranny and ingenious rapacity of the other. Among his cotemporaries, though his Commentaries were generally held in the highest estimation, they were not without those who criticised and disparaged them; the elder Pollio in particular is said by Suetonius to have found so much fault both with their want of accuracy and truth, that he thought Cæsar intended to correct and write them again.

Cæsar's clemency, after the fortune of the day was decided, did him the highest honour: no citizen lost his life out of the field of battle; and the humanity which he

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wished to extend to all was thwarted only by the obstinate pertinacity of some few, who disdained to owe their lives to him.

Pompey after touching at Amphipolis sailed for Mitylene, where he took on board his wife Cornelia, and proceeded with four gallies to Cilicia and Cyprus. It was discussed among his few friends in what quarter of the world it would be most advisable to seek an asylum: his own inclination suggested Parthia; but the persuasion of others directed his flight towards Egypt, where the recollection of his kindness towards the late king might be supposed to be fresh in the mind of his son and of his court.

Young Ptolemy was in this juncture of time on the coast of Pelusium under mount Cassius, with an army which he had raised against his sister Cleopatra after depriving her of her share in the sovereignty. The tender years of the monarch were under the guardianship of Theodotus his preceptor, Achillas the prefect of his guard, and Pothinus an eunuch his treasurer with a council of eunuchs to advise with; by whom it was determined that the great man who sought their protection should be in-

veigled into their power, and immediately put to death. Assuring him therefore of an honourable reception, they received him out of the ship into their boat, where Septimius, or Sempronius as Appian calls him, whom the general recognized as an old soldier who had once served under him, was seated, and from his hand, as he was preparing to land Pompey received the first wound, while Cornelia and his friends were near enough to be spectators of this atrocious act of perfidy. The head was cut off as an acceptable present for Cæsar, and the body was left neglected upon the sands. Chap. XXVII.

Cicero was detained at Dyrrhachium by illness when the battle was fought in Thessaly; although he was sincerely attached to Pompey, he was disgusted by his disgraceful flight out of Italy, and remained for some time hesitating whether he should follow him or not; at last, a sense of duty and his opinion that it was the better though not the stronger cause, induced him to join the great body of the aristocracy. The command of the garrison at Dyrrhachium, with the charge of the magazines and warlike stores, was intrusted to Cato; by whom Cicero was

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pressed, when the fatal news arrived, to take upon him the chief command. Some of those who fled from Pharsalia, and young Pompey in particular, carried their importunity still farther, and almost used violence to force him to become their general: but Cicero determined to be concerned in no further active operations; and returning into Italy, awaited in anxiety and suspense the event of this deplorable crisis. The other Pompeians looked towards the various means that remained for rekindling the war, which existed in such abundance, that if Pompey had repaired to king Juba instead of Ptolemy, or if he had landed in his own province of Spain, he might easily have placed himself again in a situation to make head against his antagonist.

Cæsar directly following Pompey's track landed three days after him in Egypt, where the same infamous ministers of a feeble and corrupt court were very near surprising and cutting off the conqueror of Pharsalia. He was at another time in the most imminent danger from a tumult excited among the native guards, when he was entertained in the palace: and again, when his fleet was

attacked in the harbour, and he was obliged to burn part of it himself to prevent the whole from falling into the enemy's hands; it was by the spreading of these flames that the famous library of Alexandria was unfortunately consumed. His third and greatest danger was in the isle of Pharos, when he was obliged to throw himself into the sea from his boat, and to swim to one of his ships: he is said to have held some papers of great consequence in one of his hands above the water, supporting himself and swimming with the other; but Hirtius in his commentaries makes no mention of the papers. The issue of this action, which began so unfavourably, became decisive; and the body of the young king was found among the slain trampled in the mud. Besides the personal risk to which Cæsar was exposed, the time he lost at Alexandria, which was no less than nine months, was of material detriment to his affairs, and allowed his adversaries leisure to collect and consolidate their forces. The charms of a young and very extraordinary woman, who during the sequel of her life acted so considerable a part in directing and fixing the destiny of

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Rome, had the chief influence in leading Cæsar to postpone his more important operations. Cleopatra became his suitor for half the kingdom which was bequeathed to her; and he would not quit Alexandria until he had reestablished her in her rightful share, joining her younger brother as a joint partner in the sovereignty, in conformity to their father's will.

The rapidity with which he brought the war against Pharnaces to a conclusion forms a striking contrast to his dilatory proceedings at Alexandria. He himself described it in a letter to one of his friends in three words, expressing, without a single intervening term, his arriving, seeing, and conquering; which were afterwards made use of as an inscription for one of the trophies or banners in his triumph. Pharnaces inherited the full portion of his father's cruelty and hatred towards the Romans; and a successful battle against Cæsar's lieutenant Domitius Calvinus led him into the presumption of attacking Cæsar, after in vain attempting to temporize and trifle with him. Besides Pontus, Colchis, Armenia, and Cappadocia, which he had seized during the opportunity

of the civil war, the conqueror took from him the kingdom of Bosphorus in which Pompey had established him; and Cæsar bestowed it upon another branch of the same family.

The affairs of Asia remained to be settled; the kings, and tetrarchs, and free cities were anxious to court his protection, and submitted every thing to his decision; many of them hoping to extend, and all of them to secure their territories jurisdictions or immunities: Cæsar pronounced upon these complicated claims with all possible despatch, for the purpose of hastening his return into Italy, where his presence was urgently called for.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Cæsar again Dictator.—Battle of Munda.

As soon as the news of Pompey's death reached Rome, Cæsar was declared dictator for the second time, with Antony for master of the horse, under whose authority every thing relating to the government at home was transacted. The insolence of a triumphant faction with such a man at its head naturally filled the city with discontent and confusion. Some of the tribunes pushed their contentions to the disturbance of public tranquillity; and what was of still more alarming consequence, the army, relaxed in discipline by the neglect of the legionary tribunes, was becoming discontented and turbulent on account of their length of service protracted beyond the legal term, and clamorous for the payment of the rewards which were promised at the conclusion of the war. Sallust narrowly escaped with his life, when he was the

bearer of some proposition for satisfying and appeasing them; and Cæsar found them in a state of irritation ready to burst out into mutiny.

The masterly manner in which he stifled this dangerous flame, and awed these conquerors of the world into obedience, conveys a very high idea of his talents for command, and of the superior ascendant of his genius. Without the smallest perturbation he came into the midst of them, and when they demanded their discharge, he instantly granted it: then beginning his harangue, he addressed those who were no longer soldiers by the style of citizens. The instantaneous change which this one word worked in their minds is a striking instance to how surprising an extent the many are under the dominion of those few, whom talents courage and presence of mind exalt to a natural and indefeasible preeminence. The bold and tumultuous veterans were in a moment at Cæsar's feet, imploring his forgiveness, and supplicating to be permitted to serve under him: they accused themselves of the basest ingratitude, and offered voluntarily to submit to decimation, so that the re-

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mainder might be received into favour. It was with the greatest apparent reluctance that he at last yielded to their entreaties; and some of those whose services he continued to reject, are said to have followed him abroad without obtaining their pardon.

At Brundisium Cæsar had a friendly and familiar interview with Cicero, whom he left, if not pleased with the state of public affairs, at least not personally dissatisfied with his visit, nor wishing well to those who were again in arms against him.

For the last three months of the year he appointed by his sole authority two of his friends consuls, which mode of nomination he continued during the remainder of his life, carrying it in one instance to an extreme which was ridiculous, when he (708.) made C. Caninius Rebulus consul for part of a day only, in the room of Q. Fabius Maximus, who died on the last day of December. The choice of the other magistrates he divided with the people, so as to have the choosing of one half; at the same time he increased the number of pretors, ediles, quæstors, and inferior magistrates, and filled up the senate. Before

his departure, he declared himself and M. Lepidus consuls for the ensuing year; and gave the government of Cisalpine Gaul to M. Brutus, who had been an officer in Pompey's army at Pharsalia. His mother Servilia, the sister of Cato, was one among several noble matrons whose ill fame has descended to posterity as the favourites of Cæsar; and he was particularly anxious that no harm should happen to Brutus, in case of his being taken prisoner after the battle. The age of Brutus, who was only fifteen years younger than Cæsar, refutes all surmises with regard to any relationship between them.

Crossing the sea about the winter solstice Cæsar transported his troops into Sicily, and from thence into Africa. The whole college of diviners, all the omens and entrails, together with the season of the year, were against the expedition; but he knew the importance of attacking the enemy without allowing further time for preparation, and his contempt of such vain superstitions was perhaps confirmed by the fate of Pompey, whose reliance on them was one of the causes of his last misfortune.

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The heads of the Pompeian party were in great force upon the coast of Africa, under the command of L. Scipio, a name most auspicious upon that soil; with him at Adrumetum were Afranius, Petreius, Labienus, Varus, and other considerable men; Cato had the charge of Utica, where he presided over a council of three hundred Roman merchants and several senators, adding dignity by his character to the falling cause which he supported. Juba king of Mauritania had an army formidable in numbers to act in conjunction with them; and his reputation stood high from the victory which he had obtained over Cæsar's lieutenant Curio, whose impetuosity and confidence led him into a defeat which his disappointment and vexation would not allow him to survive. In the first action against Labienus and Petreius Cæsar was unsuccessful: it was owing to the mismanagement of the latter that his disaster was not much more material: but in the battle of Thapsus his victory was complete; the rout began with king Juba's elephants, that most imposing but most uncertain instrument of war, and soon communicating to the

legions, ended in the loss of their three distinct camps. Scipio endeavoured to make his escape by sea, but when he saw the vessel pursued, he ran a sword through his body, and threw himself into the deep: Juba and Petreius, after partaking of a luxurious banquet, fell by each other's hands. Mauritania was made tributary, and placed under the administration of Sallust. The king's son was led in Cæsar's triumph, and afterwards became resident in Rome, and a writer of history.

Cato was not present in the battle, which was risked in contradiction to his advice; the news of it therefore without creating any emotion or surprise found him prepared and determined to lay down his life, when he could no longer hold it but at the will of another. His first care was to provide for the safety of his comrades and adherents; to procure for the senators, and others who were most obnoxious to the victors, the means of escaping by sea, and to protect the property of the natives from being plundered by fugitives from the camp, who flocked to Utica as their last hope. When all these concerns were arranged to

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his satisfaction, he went to the bath, and returning to his circle of friends entertained a large company at supper, where the topics upon which his conversation turned gave his family a strong suspicion of the fixed resolution which he had formed. In the evening he took his usual walk with some of those about him, and retiring into his bedchamber he employed a considerable part of the night in reading Plato's dialogue on the immortality of the soul, entitled Phædon; he then went to bed; and after some sleep stabbed himself with his sword, but in a direction which accidentally missed all the vital parts. In that miserable state he was discovered by his son and attendants, fallen out of bed and weltering in his blood: still however he was not beyond recovery, nor did the wound appear mortal. A surgeon immediately replaced the bowels which were falling out, and sewed up the orifice, which Cato allowed to be done with perfect composure; but no sooner was he left alone, than tearing it open again he effectually accomplished his fatal purpose. His age did not exceed fifty years.

The tenets of the Stoics, which he pro-

fessed, absolutely condemned this sort of death, as being a desertion of the post allotted by Divine Providence, which nothing but a special command from above could dispense with or excuse: it is true however that their maxims, by inculcating a total disregard of death, prepared the minds of their disciples to hold themselves at all seasons in readiness to encounter it, which has sometimes been mistaken, even by writers of high authority, for an approbation of such voluntary acts of destruction. The Epicurean philosophy, which gained ground about this period over every other among the men of business, as well as the men of pleasure, must probably have contributed much more than the Stoic to establish this fashion of leaving the world whenever fancy or disgust suggested that the fit hour of departure was come.

But there are resolutions formed under critical circumstances, too strong to be controlled by the principles of any philosophy, or even by those of the true religion itself, when the mind wholly engrossed with the action upon which it ruminates, with the

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motive which impels it, and the peril or disgrace which it is about to shun, cannot allow itself to reflect whether it be acting in conformity to its own belief or professions upon all other occasions.

An ardent and vehement temper like Cato's might even be carried so far as to interpret one of these strong impulses into an inward call from the Divinity, making a special exception for his own case by that sort of self delusion, and reconciling his practice with his theory.

It is natural that those whose habits have led them to regard life with indifference should lay it down without apprehension; but this constancy in the last moments is by no means confined to philosophers and heroes: whenever existence is felt to be a greater misery than death with all its terrors, cowards will fly from the first for relief, and meet the latter with transport. The end of the most effeminate of mankind the emperor Otho was in every respect as sedate and calm, and far more justifiable and rational than Cato's. In point of fact how soon and how often was

it wished by the friends of liberty, that this incomparable patriot had reserved himself for the republic! Chap. XXVIII.

Cæsar on his return to Rome, celebrated his victories by four separate triumphs, surpassing the magnificence of all his predecessors, in the spectacles which he exhibited, in the feasts which he gave to the whole people, and in the liberality of the largesses which he bestowed upon his soldiers. Triumphs on account of civil wars were hitherto unknown; but Appian says that paintings were carried among the pageants of the African procession representing the principal incidents which attended the fate of the Roman chiefs, particularly Scipio and Petreius, and Cato tearing open his wounds. Of Pompey there was no such indecent and insulting exposure; nor does it indeed seem probable with regard to the others, when the fact is not mentioned nor alluded to in Cicero's correspondence, nor related by other authors. Among the more authentic occurrences in these scenes of pomp and riot, where an unbounded licence was given to ribaldry and lampoons of every description, an epigram is preserved as

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being sung by his soldiers, in which some anecdotes in the secret history of Cæsar's early years, when he was at the court of Nicodemes king of Bithynia, were exposed; in a way not perhaps otherwise worthy of notice, than as a specimen of the sort of stories which passed current with regard to his private life, and the total unconcern that prevailed as to their truth or falsehood.

While he was occupied with these festivities, the materials of another great war were collecting in Spain, whither many of those who had survived the other battles had repaired; and the Pompeian party, renovated under the immediate auspices of his two sons, was rapidly gaining ground. The state of that province was favourable to such a resolution: Q. Cassius Longinus, whom Cæsar left in the command, was become odious and obnoxious from his avarice and violence both to the natives and his own army, so that most of the cities in the further province revolted, and some of the veterans renewed their allegiance to the sons of their old general.

Cæsar, when he was in his third dictatorship, and about to enter upon the fourth, began

his march, and in twenty seven days brought his army before the walls of Corduba, one of the principal disaffected cities which Sextus Pompey held with a strong garrison, while his elder brother Cneius was laying siege to Ulla.*

The action which fixed Cæsar in the dominion of the Roman world was fought before the town of Munda, and so obstinately disputed, that he felt himself contending, not, as at other times, for victory, but for life: his legions engaged with less ardour and impetuosity than usual, and were ready even to leave their general to his fate, if he had not shamed them into courage by his undaunted resolution, and made them conquer almost in spite of themselves, as his predecessor Sylla did at the battle of Orchomenus. These circumstances however, are not mentioned in the commentaries of this war which go under the name of Hirtius, of which Suetonius says that the author was uncertain. 707. Bef. Xt. 45.

Labienus and Varus, and a very considerable number of Roman knights fell in the battle. Cn. Pompey made for the coast, and embarked on board of his fleet; but for

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want of diligence and due preparation, his sailors were obliged to land again to take in water; and Didius Cæsar's admiral burnt their ships in the river Bœtis. Pompey who was already wounded in two places; had the additional misfortune to put out his ancle bone in crossing a cable, which obliged him to have recourse to a litter as the only means of continuing his flight: his pursuers discovered him in a cave, and cutting off his head carried it to Cæsar, who exhibited it to the people. Sextus Pompey took refuge in Celtiberia, destined to act no inconsiderable part in disturbing the peace of the world, when his conqueror should be no more.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Death of Cæsar.

Cæsar's fifth triumph, on the reconquest of Spain, equalled the magnificence of the other four: the models of the captured towns were made of silver and ivory; and Chian and Falernian wines were given to the populace at two public feasts: but the whole was coldly and sullenly received: no enthusiasm was excited by the martial pomp, and the natural applause was withheld from the goddess Victory in the Circensian games, because the statue of the conqueror was carried next to it.

But the senators, whose reserve might have made them suspected or obnoxious, ran into the opposite extreme, and set no bounds to the adulation and honours which they heaped upon him. They saluted him by the titles of father of his country and emperor: they placed his statue among

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707. those of the kings, allotting to him a golden chair in the senate house and courts of justice, and an elevated place in the theatre. Temples altars and images were erected to him, with all the sacred apparatus for days of ceremony. A priest was set apart for the service of this new divinity, with a whole college of Luperci; and one of the months was called after his name. The more substantial distinctions which were bestowed upon him contained nothing less than the whole executive government under the official titles of perpetual dictator, consul, and prefect of morals: and for the preservation of a life which they believed or affected to think so essential to the public welfare, an association was entered into by the members of that august body, under the sanction of an oath for his personal security and defence. Cicero in his beautiful speech for Marcellus, in the apparent fulness of a grateful heart, positively undertook for himself, and endeavoured to pledge others to the full extent of this engagement, professing that they would serve as a sort of body guard to Cæsar, to intercept and ward off every blow which might be levelled against

a life so dear to them all, and so essential to the best interests of the republic. CH. XXIX.

Such an excess of power could hardly be exempt from abuse, or fail to generate discontent: the substance of authority was long since gone from the people; but no care was taken under this new dynasty to keep them in good humour by a decent semblance of the elective franchise. Cæsar named whom he pleased to the higher offices, leaving only the ediles and tribunes to be chosen in the regular way; and of the last, he displaced and degraded two, for endeavouring, as he alleged, to render him odious and suspected, but in reality for punishing a man who put a crown upon one of his statues. Some casual expressions also escaped him which gave offence; and if hopes had been entertained that he might be induced to restore the commonwealth, the contempt with which he spoke of Sylla for laying down the dictatorship, as of a man utterly devoid of the first rudiments of knowledge, made it evident that Cæsar would resign his power only with his life.

Numberless beneficent actions, many signal instances of humanity forbearance

ch. xxix. and clemency were effaced by the more lasting impressions of some few unguarded sallies of this kind, which had a contrary tendency. In his daily habits of life he was affable and desirous to mix with others as their equal; the placability of his temper was admirable; he was reconciled to Calvus notwithstanding some severe epigrams which he had published, and to Catullus, as soon as the poet thought fit to express a sense of regret for the offence which he had given, though no man knew better than Cæsar how deep and permanent were the marks with which such a poet as Catullus had stigmatized some of his vicious excesses. Afranius, young L. Cæsar, and Faustus the son of Sylla, were the only persons whose lives were taken away by his command. He dismissed his body guard of Spaniards even during the violence of civil war: but it was impossible to guarantee the continuance of such moderation and benevolence, or to determine how long the natural bent of his temper might be proof against the constant and undermining corruption of unlimited power.

The disrespect with which he treated the whole body of the senate, by not rising

to receive them upon an occasion when they waited upon him with some of their most humble and flattering addresses or decrees, created universal dissatisfaction, and a general rumour, perhaps industriously spread, that he would not rest satisfied without the title of king, revived the popular detestation of kingly government, with all the terrible sanctions of their primitive laws against every attempt to reestablish it, and made the name of the first founder of liberty once more familiar to the people. So idle a wish in so great a mind can be accounted for only by the inequalities and weaknesses from which even the most exalted talents are not wholly exempt. Superstition was called in to aid his project; and a Sibylline prophecy was discovered or fabricated, predicting that the Parthians, whom Cæsar was preparing to attack, could be subdued only by a king. A more overt act was the direct tender of a crown to Cæsar by the consul Antony at the head of the Luperci, which though refused by the dictator amidst the shouting and applause of the multitude, was put aside in such a manner as to confirm rather

CH. XXIX. than invalidate the rumours which were in circulation.

Specious motives of this kind connected with their inveterate dislike of royalty and the veneration which still accompanied the name of liberty, the real patriotism of some few, the suppressed ambition of others, the envy, restlessness, or malignity of more, engaged above sixty persons, chiefly of senatorian rank, to conspire against his life; and a report that decrees were immediately about to be proposed relating to the regal title, confirmed by Cæsar's impatience to quit the capital for the purpose of joining his legions which were already in Macedonia, accelerated the execution of the plot.

He was not without various admonitions and prognostics of his danger, some of which had a remarkable coincidence with the event: but Cæsar had no faith in omens, and was known to have declared that the constant apprehension of peril would be less tolerable to him, than being sometimes exposed to it: a sudden death he had never contemplated with uneasiness, but on the contrary, he had been heard to wish for it

in preference to any other. This temper of mind and indifference as to warnings made his life unquestionably more assailable; but it would have been difficult to devise any precautions which could have permanently secured him against unsuspected and honourable men who were so near and dear to him, as several of those were who raised their hands against him. *Ch. XXIX.*

C. Cassius, the contriver probably, and first mover of the whole, had been taken into favour after Pompey's death, and was at this time one of the pretors; M. Brutus was another pretor, to whom a superior jurisdiction was assigned, by which preference it is said that the former was more offended than the latter felt himself obliged. Decimus Brutus was still further advanced in Cæsar's confidence, and considered almost as one of his family: he had commanded during the campaign against Pompey's lieutenants the fleet before Marseilles, and he was at this time named to the government of Cisalpine Gaul, with the promise of and nomination to the consulate for the next year but one; and on the failure of Cæsar's own relations his name stood in the will as

Ch. XXIX. Cæsar's heir. C. Trebonius owed his rise entirely to the same patronage, and had enjoyed the consular dignity for the three last months of the preceding year. It does not appear how long the project had been matured, and intrusted to so large a number of associates, but it was certainly undertaken upon reflexion and not from any sudden impulse, and may perhaps have been conceived nearly five months before its execution, which was the whole term of the plenitude of Cæsar's power after his return from Spain. Cato's daughter Porcia, the widow of Bibulus whom Brutus had very lately married, was probably the only one of her sex who was acquainted with the important secret, which her husband ventured to intrust to her.

The senate assembled on the ides of March in Pompey's hall, where it had been settled that the design should be executed; the first part was allotted to Tullius Cimber, who was to entreat Cæsar for some favour, and come up close to his person; in the course of which, catching at the robe which hung from his shoulders, he gave the preconcerted signal for the attack. Upon the first blow Cæsar rose to defend himself, and

708. Bef. Xt. 44.

with an iron pen which he held in his hand wounded Cassius; but seeing the number of weapons raised against him, he covered his head with his garment, which he took care also to draw decently over his body, and expired under the wounds of three and twenty daggers which pierced him.

The admiration which Cæsar's great qualities naturally excite, and the misfortunes confusion and havoc which immediately followed his downfal, throw more than a doubt upon the soundness of Brutus's judgment, if his high character for rectitude and integrity forbid the motives of that judgment to be questioned: it is impossible not to regret such a combination of circumstances, and not to condemn such a train of reasoning, as could persuade the most virtuous man in the empire, that it was his duty to become the murderer of the only man who was fit to govern it. The Roman constitution, if ever it deserved such an appellation, was worn out long before the age of Cæsar: his boyish days had witnessed the anarchy turbulence and proscriptions of Marius and Sylla; and his early manhood was hardly preserved from the scruti-

CH. XXIX. nizing resentment of the latter, against which there was no appeal. When the death of Sylla relieved the world from that reign of terror, the commonwealth remained destitute of any active principle, and wanted vigour to effect its renovation. The authority of Pompey soon became too domineering for a free state, though his moderation inclined him for a time to tolerate the semblance of it; but no sooner was his dignity encroached upon by a transient opposition of opinion in the senate, than diffident of his own single strength, he took two coadjutors into partnership, and converted into a joint stock all the offices territories and revenues of the republic. The written law was at no time well calculated to secure personal liberty and the free exercise of civil rights, together with a due proportion of executive power; when therefore the wealth of the world flowing in with a rapid tide, undermined or subverted the old bulwarks of morality moderation and zeal for the public, nothing was left sufficiently strong to resist the encroachments and assaults of corruption or violence. Cæsar's crime at the tribunal of his country, was that of subverting the

legitimate form of government; but how little resemblance of a commonwealth was left, and how little even of what remained was worth preserving! Had he established a free constitution, his merit would indeed have been rare and transcendent; but he must have created rather than restored, and have drawn from his own enlarged understanding a system of which he had never seen the model. He had beheld, after he came into active life, the fury of Catiline endangering the very existence of the state; and the life and death of Clodius almost equally fatal to the safety of the best citizens, and to the liberties of all; he had repeatedly experienced how inadequate the laws were to support the chief magistrates, to insure the freedom of elections, or to withstand a combination of powerful individuals. Ought he to have withdrawn from all concern in public affairs? Some other daring spirit less capable or less worthy might seize the helm. He had escaped Sylla; but would even his life have been safe under another usurper? Should he continue to administer the government to the best of his great abilities, and for the universal good of the

Ch. XXIX. empire? Such men as Cato and Cato's nephew immediately became his enemies; the most innocent and honest of mankind plotted his destruction with the dissimulation of hypocrites, and turned against him with the malignity of assassins.

The waste of the human race during Cæsar's campaigns must have been prodigious: he himself calculated the loss of lives among the various nations whom he subdued in Gaul at twelve hundred thousand. Italy, besides the operation of his wars, was drained by the transportation of eighty thousand citizens, whom he settled in various colonies beyond sea. It was with an intention to prevent any farther depopulation of the mother country, that regulations were enacted prohibiting all citizens above twenty years old or under forty from removing out of Italy for more than three years together, unless they were serving in the army, and the sons of senators from going abroad except in the employ or retinue of a magistrate; and some restrictions for the purpose of increasing the number of shepherds of free condition were imposed upon those who kept large flocks, and held

grazing farms. The Roman law held out various encouragements to fathers of families who had reared three children, which seems to have been extremely rare in higher life, and not very common in the lower. When the land about Capua was allotted, Cæsar wished to give a preference to poor citizens who possessed this qualification, but he found in the whole no more than twenty thousand who could prefer any such claim. To all professors of physic, and all teachers of the liberal arts Cæsar gave the freedom of the city, endeavouring to encourage men of that description to reside in Rome. Some of his internal reforms deserve particular notice. Considerable irregularities and frauds were discovered in the distribution of corn to the poorer class of citizens, which he remedied by a better and more strict method of taking the register; proceeding regularly through each street, and making the landlords of the several squares, or islands as they were termed, render an account of their tenants, by which he reduced the number of those who were fed at the public charge from three hundred and twenty thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand: CH. XXIX.

Ch. XXIX. at the same time a mode of filling up the register by the pretor was established, for the purpose of supplying the places of those who died, and to prevent the necessity of holding popular meetings upon that account, which the dictator wished upon all occasions to discourage. Since the tribunate of Clodius, no money whatever was paid to the public by the lower class who received the corn, which, before he altered the practice by one of his mischievous laws, used to be sold at a very low price, but not absolutely given away.

The total number of registered citizens being no more at this period than about four hundred and fifty thousand, the abuse of this privilege of receiving corn out of the public stock must have called loudly for correction, when more than two thirds of the whole population were suffered to become a burden upon the treasury for this primary article of subsistence: but the system itself of gratuitous supply naturally led to imposition, and encouraged idleness: the checks, whatever they were, must have been difficult to enforce while it was the interest of so great a multitude to evade them. In the earliest

law for the distribution of corn at a fixed and inferior price there was certainly no restriction as to the rank or condition of the citizens who demanded it; for Piso surnamed Frugi, a consular senator, came in person to receive his portion after the Sempronian law had passed, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition which he had given to it.

Cæsar made a change in the distribution of the judicial power, forbidding the selection of judges from any other order than the senatorian or equestrian, and prohibiting the tribunes of the treasury from being any longer considered as a sort of third estate out of which they might be taken. In filling up the senate, (to what precise number it is not ascertained) he admitted, among others whom he patronized and raised to honours, some few natives of Gaul, which was not overlooked in the epigrams and sarcasms of the day, as if he had made senators of his captives.

Several rigid and very minute sumptuary laws for regulating dress, and the wearing of purple and pearls, and the use of litters, and even extending to eatables sold in the

CH. XXIX. market, which are enumerated by Suetonius, appear hardly consistent with his character or understanding. The reformation of the calendar was a work much more worthy of him; nor was there indeed any branch of science or learning which the comprehensive mind of this extraordinary man did not embrace; upon whom nature had bestowed the highest intellectual qualities of original genius, perception, memory, and judgment, to which his own diligence and pursuit of knowledge had added almost every thing that could be acquired. He recorded his great actions with the same spirit that he achieved them; and unrivalled in the field, he was scarcely second to any at the bar or in the senate house.

In exercising the new functions of prefect of morals he proceeded with more than censorian severity; particularly in some cases where the licentious habits of his own life were entirely in contradiction to the rigour with which he visited the delinquencies of others. He is said to have put to death a favourite freedman because he had debauched the wife of a Roman knight, though no complaint was made by the party aggrieved;

and to have annulled the marriage of a person of pretorian rank with a lady who had left her husband only two days, although there was no suspicion of criminal conduct. The Roman law permitted divorce upon any, or even without any cause assigned; it is therefore difficult to understand the interference of Cæsar upon such an occasion. Divorces had multiplied to a prodigious extent since the days of Sp. Carvilius in the sixth century, who ventured to set the first example in the hope of having a wife who might bear him children, which the censors obliged him to verify upon oath as the justification of his conduct. The practice, from its frequency in succeeding times, had long ceased to be attended with any shame or scandal to either party; and statesmen philosophers and moralists made no scruple to take advantage of it whenever it suited their inclination or convenience. Cicero at the age of sixty one put away his wife Terentia, and married his ward Publilia: his daughter Tullia was divorced by Dolabella, and probably also by her second husband Furius Crassipes. Brutus divorced Claudia a matron of irreproachable cha- *Ch. XXIX.*

Ch. XXIX. racter, merely because he preferred his first cousin Cato's daughter, who became a widow by the death of Bibulus: but the most singular instance is that of Cato himself, who separated from his wife Marcia, that she might marry his friend Hortensius and bear him children; after whose death, upon the breaking out of the civil war, he took her again as his own wife.

The women of this age seem to have formed an important part of general society, and to have been under very little restraint as to their intercourse with the men who visited them. If they partook of the accomplishments refinements and literature which foreign manners introduced among the descendants of the Sabines, they were not exempt from the luxury and corruption which came in their train. The character of one of these ladies of talent and intrigue, named Sempronia who was in the first rank of Catiline's active accomplices; is drawn by the masterly hand of Sallust.

Cleopatra was in Cæsar's palace at the time of his death, and returned to Egypt soon afterwards; she had a son, as she professed, by Cæsar, whom Antony and several

of his friends acknowledged; but Oppius published a statement to controvert the fact. Cæsar's intention of marrying her was among the rumours of the day; and it was asserted, that Helvius Cinna a tribune had a law ready to propose, that the dictator, while abroad, might marry as many wives as he pleased, and of whatever country. Cicero mentions his having had an interview with this celebrated queen, which she seems to have solicited on account of some business depending before the senate, and in the short account which he gives of it to Atticus, he expresses himself as being much disgusted by her haughtiness, without taking any notice of her beauty, her manner of conversing, or any other circumstance. Appian says that a statue of Cleopatra, which Cæsar had erected in the temple of Venus, next to the Goddess herself, was to be seen in his time: and that the dictator also placed before the same temple the representation of a more deserving favourite his horse, which had the singularity of hoofs divided almost like human feet.

Cæsar's account of his two expeditions into Britain, which add nothing to his repu-

Ch. XXIX. tation as a general, derive an importance not otherwise belonging to them, from their containing the earliest memorial of the inhabitants and state of this island. Fourteen short chapters in the fourth book of the Bef. Xt. 55. Gallic war relate his first visit and return; and sixteen in the fifth book recount his Bef. Xt. 54. progress in the following summer. The only reason which he assigns for the undertaking is, that he understood supplies to have been furnished from thence to the enemy in almost all the Gallic wars; but Suetonius asserts that a notion of the plenty and size of the pearls upon the British coast was his real inducement: he himself, after enumerating many articles of natural produce, is entirely silent as to pearls. Some merchants from Gaul were the only persons from whom he could obtain any previous information, which was extremely imperfect, and confined entirely to the coast immediately opposite.

After a battle sharply disputed on his first disembarking, the natives sent ambassadors to treat for peace, and to make submission; so that in four days the object of his enterprise seemed to be attained: but the stranding of several of his

ships by a storm and spring tide which drove them on shore, the non-arrival of his expected cavalry and the small number that landed with him, encouraged the princes of Britain to attack the cohorts of the seventh legion while they were foraging: Cæsar found them thrown into confusion by the impetuosity and suddenness of the charge, and bewildered by the novelty of fighting against warriors mounted in chariots, when he came up most opportunely to their support. The islanders risked one more action in front of Cæsar's camp; but they were routed and put to flight, and the Romans in their pursuit burned all the dwellings to a considerable distance. Upon this defeat peace was again sued for, and as readily granted, with an additional article for doubling the number of hostages before required. *ch. xxix.*

Cæsar could not wait to take them with him: winter was coming on; he had neither magazines nor provisions; and in his impatience to be gone he set sail at midnight, after a stay of about three weeks. Only two cities out of the whole island sent their hostages into Gaul according to their en-

Ch. XXIX. gagement; and early in the next summer Cæsar renewed his enterprise upon a larger scale. His landing was effected without molestation, the natives withdrawing to the heights at the sight of his numerous fleet which consisted of eight hundred sail. Advancing about twelve miles into the country near a river, not designated by name, Cæsar was attacked by the British horse and chariots which his cavalry dispersed; he afterwards dislodged them from a strong natural position which they had rendered almost inaccessible by a barricado of trees, and they were driven from thence beyond the shelter of their woods. It is singular, that the disaster which the Roman ships suffered in the former year did not suggest the necessity of precautions against the tides and storms; but the fleet was again left exposed to the same hazards, and the second loss was heavier than the first.

The natives were emboldened by this casualty, as by the former, to assemble in greater numbers, placing at their head Cassivelaunus, whose territory was divided from the maritime states by the river Thames about eighty miles from the sea. The British mode

of warfare, in which without the appearance of regularity or order, skill and discipline were no less conspicuous than courage, threw the legionary soldiers into a temporary confusion, and gave the islanders some partial advantages; but Cæsar by pressing upon them in a more general engagement, and allowing them no time to rally, nor to make use of their chariots, broke the spirit of the confederacy and reduced their numbers; then leading his army towards the territory of Cassivelaunus and crossing the Thames, although it reached the soldiers' necks, in sight of the islanders who were set in array on the opposite bank, he encountered no obstruction from them, nor any effectual impediment from the sharp stakes which they had driven into the sides and channel of the river. The subsequent operations of Cassivelaunus were conducted upon a more restricted plan, and confined to straitening the Romans in their provisions by driving the country, or attacking their foraging parties with a reserved force of about four thousand charioteers whom he kept constantly ready for this service. CH. XXIX.

The first open defection from the com-

CH. XXIX. mon cause began with the Trinobantes, whose prince Mandubratius had fled into Gaul, and returned under Cæsar's protection, after the king his father had been killed by Cassivelaunus. Five other states soon followed this example of submission, delivering hostages and a supply of corn. One last attempt upon the remainder of the fleet was made in conformity to Cassivelaunus's orders by four kings who ruled Kent, the failure of which, together with the loss of his own town, determined Cassivelaunus also to make his peace. Hostages were accordingly sent to Cæsar, and a certain annual tribute was imposed; but it is not stated in the commentaries what the amount was, nor whether it was to be rendered in money or in produce. The British money at this time was either of copper or of iron; the latter made into rings of a certain weight. Tin was a native commodity, and iron also but in less abundance; the brass or copper which they used they imported.

The name of Cassivelaunus's chief place of strength is not preserved, but it is represented as a wood surrounded by a deep ditch, and made strong with palisades, into

which in time of war they drove their cattle; ca. xxix.
but no houses are mentioned as being within this inclosure, although the Britons denominated it a town. Corn was not cultivated in the interior, but cattle were every where abundant; milk and meat were the general food of the islanders. The population was immense; the buildings very numerous, and of the same kind with those in Gaul: their clothing consisted of skins, their bodies were stained of a blue colour, they left the hair long upon their heads, but shaved it off from all other parts except the upper lip: ten or twelve men had their wives in common, particularly brothers with brothers, and fathers with sons: the children were reputed to belong to the first husband of the mother. The number of hostages and captives which he had to carry back, and the loss of some of his ships in the storm, obliged Cæsar to transport his forces at two separate times, which he accomplished without the slightest accident.

CHAPTER XXX.

Funeral of Cæsar. Octavius.

A SERIES of extraordinary events distinguishes the fourteen years which elapsed between the death of Cæsar and that of Antony. The destiny of the world was at stake, and the means and talents of the antagonists were nearly balanced. There is hardly any period to be found in history in which causes apparently accidental, and out of all human calculation produced more important consequences. Destructive wars succeeded by hollow pacifications left nothing untried by force or unassailed by artifice: the few noble spirits which loved the republic for itself, were the first to be extinguished; the more selfish and ambitious who could cordially agree in nothing but the destruction of those who stood in their way, became of course in the sequel competitors for that power to which they had waded through the best blood of Rome. To have restored and main-

tained a free government would hardly have been practicable, even if the measures of the conspirators had been as rational and judicious as they were senseless and irresolute: the blow which they struck with the firmness of men, they followed up with the imbecility of children. ch. xxx.

Cassius and several of the others had urged the necessity of putting Antony to death at the same time with his colleague; but the moderation and mistaken humanity of M. and D. Brutus and Trebonius interposed, and left the work incomplete. Errors proceeding from such motives are to be treated with respect rather than censure; but surely a mind must have been singularly turned, and a conscience strangely tempered, to have satisfied itself as to the lawfulness of assassinating the foremost man of all the world, and to have entertained qualms with regard to his associate and disciple, who combined all the vices of his master, without one of his virtues.

The surviving consul as soon as he recovered from his surprise and consternation, found the means of visiting their folly upon their own heads, by dissembling and speak-

CH. XXX. ing them fair, until it was safe to declare against them. The conspirators, on their part, acted as if they had nothing to suspect or fear, and seemed to imagine that every thing would fall into its natural place, and that the commonwealth would spontaneously resume its functions without any further care or precaution. An act of oblivion was passed on the motion of Cicero, at the first meeting of the senate, which apparently reconciled all parties: those who had been most instrumental in what they considered as a necessary act of justice, affected to harbour no resentment against the memory or reputation of Cæsar; it was therefore agreed that he should have a public funeral, and that Antony should pronounce the solemn oration.

If the merit of a speech can be collected from its effects, no exertion of eloquence ever exceeded this: Suetonius says that there was little of Antony's own, and that he contented himself with reciting the decrees of the senate heaping upon the dictator all honours human and divine, and the general oath by which they had bound themselves to associate for his defence; but if his words

were few, he made a masterly appeal to the senses of a people ever most susceptible of such impressions, and drove them almost into a state of frenzy by taking the bloody robe from the body, and exhibiting the rents made in it by the daggers which despatched him. CH. XXX.

Every thing was immediately thrown into disorder and uproar; the body was not suffered to be carried to the pile which was prepared in the field of Mars, but was burned tumultuously on the spot where it lay in state before the rostra with such materials for fuel as the benches and tables about the forum afforded: the musicians and performers in the pageant threw their triumphal habits into the flame, and the veterans their arms; the matrons too, in the enthusiasm of the same momentary impulse, flung in their own ornaments and those of their children. From the corpse the clamorous rout hurried to the houses of the chief conspirators, but they met with a determined resistance and were driven off. What mercy would have been extended to the persons of the rest, was shown by their treatment of an illfated poet called Cinna, whom the populace mistaking for his name-

CH. XXX. sake the conspirator murdered, and carried his head before them upon a pike.

A column twenty feet high was erected on the spot where the body was consumed, inscribed "to the father of his country," which immediately became the resort of superstitious devotees from all quarters of the world, particularly of Jews; while many of the profligate and disaffected flocked round it in throngs for worse purposes as a rallying point for tumult and plunder. The liberality of Cæsar who had bequeathed by his will his gardens near the Tiber to the people, and to every citizen three hundred sesterces, was sufficient to have collected a crowd of real mourners without any such assistance.

Another palpable error on the part of Brutus and his associates was, the suffering a decree to pass on the same first meeting of the senate by which all Cæsar's acts were ratified and confirmed, without exception or scrutiny, while the registers and memorandums were suffered to remain unexamined and unauthenticated in the hands of Antony. Such means in the power of such an executor enabled him to alter, forge, and fabricate whatever might be for his own advan-

tage, and to set the stamp of Cæsar's au- *Ch. XXX.*
thority upon every mode of corruption which in the way of money, favours, or offices, might engage partisans against the conspirators. He made himself master of all the public treasure deposited in the temple of Ops, which amounted to about five millions and a half of our money; besides which, Calpurnia is said to have delivered to him from the private stock of Cæsar's property another million.

The office of high priest, vacant by Cæsar's death, was the first object of the ambition of Lepidus, which Antony assisted him in obtaining without the trouble or hazard of a regular election. Lepidus had an army in the very suburbs with which he was ready to proceed to the government of Spain and part of Gaul; so that no other individual possessed in this critical moment so great a degree of military power; and he found himself raised by this accident to an eminence, which neither his talents nor deserts qualified him to aspire to, nor enabled him to maintain. Professing no principles favourable to liberty, it was natural enough that he should coalesce with Antony; and some of

Ch. XXX. the conspirators entertained so ill an opinion of him, that he might perhaps have been despatched, if Brutus had suffered the plot to extend beyond its single object. At a period somewhat later, good hopes of Lepidus seem to have been entertained by Cicero and his friends; but he relapsed into connexions and pursuits more congenial to his temper.

Dolabella by the ratification of Cæsar's acts succeeded as a matter of course to the vacant consulate for which Cæsar had destined him, and in his known dislike of Antony a glimpse of hope was afforded to the two pretors and their party. In a moment of laudable exertion against the disturbers of the public peace, the new consul destroyed Cæsar's column, and dispersed the mixed multitude which under various pretences thronged round the spot by night as well as by day. But Dolabella was extravagant and necessitous, and could naturally entertain no partiality towards the enemies of his benefactor: it is not therefore surprising that the eloquent encomiums and exhortations of his father in law Cicero had less weight with him than the temptations held out by

his colleague; and his shortlived opposition yielded to a large bribe, with the immediate grant of a wealthy province. CH. XXX.

Brutus and Cassius following the unfortunate example of Pompey, quitted the capital and retired to Lanuvium. Cicero who was not originally in the secret of the plot, lost not a moment in endeavouring to establish that freedom for which so auspicious an opening was made; and he seems to have recommended to the two pretors and the heads of their party such measures of decision as were most likely to effectuate that great end. He could not feel otherwise than dissatisfied, as well as astonished at their total want of energy and forethought, pointing out and protesting against the same blunders which led to the fatal issue of Pharsalia. The correspondence between Brutus and Cicero at this eventful period forms a most interesting part of that invaluable collection preserved among his works. It discloses the anguish of two honest minds soured by disappointment, and unable to restrain the effusions of peevishness and irritation. Their letters abound in sarcastic reproofs, expostulations and recriminations, while each of them la-

Ch. XXX. bours to exculpate himself from those unpardonable miscarriages which extinguished their best hopes, in the very moment of their expected completion. Depressed by such painful recollections, even the most candid of mankind will shrink from responsibility, and scrutinize the mistakes of others, rather than acknowledge their own.

The exertions of Antony seemed to rise in proportion to the supineness of his opponents; he was indefatigable in endeavouring to attach the veterans of Cæsar's army to his cause, a large number of whom he drew together into the city, prepared for any act of defence or offence to which he might direct them: what he called his body guard would have composed a moderate army. The senate house was deserted by all those who could not consider themselves safe in the midst of an armed force under such a commander; the consul had therefore the remaining members of the senate at his devotion, to give the form of decrees to whatever he chose to carry into effect under his own name or Cæsar's. Sextus Pompey who was growing again powerful in Spain, entered into a negociation with him, to which

Lepidus became a party, wherein it was agreed, that in consideration of his quitting that province Sextus should be invested with the command of the whole naval force as amply as his father had been, and that he should be put into possession of his father's house in Rome at the expense of the public, so that Antony who had bought it might be indemnified for his purchase. The sum repaid upon this account is said to have equalled the whole amount of the treasure which was in the temple of Ops. Ch. XXX.

In the midst of these machinations apparently so well calculated to secure the power of Antony and his adherents, their projects received an unexpected shock, not from the enemies of Cæsar, but from the heir of his name and property, who on his very first appearance in public life gave an earnest of that extraordinary ascendant, which never afterwards failed him. Octavius, or Octavianus, the son of Atia who was Cæsar's niece, learned the fate of his great uncle at Apollonia in Macedonia, where he was pursuing his studies, and waiting to join the expedition against the Dacians and Parthians. By Cæsar's

ch. xxx. will he was adopted into his family, and inherited three fourths of his property, together with his name. The other quarter was bequeathed to Pinarius and Pedius as coheirs, who stood in the same degree of relation to the dictator. Octavius was only in his nineteenth year, and the condition of bearing the name of Cæsar was apparently attended with so much hazard, that his mother dared not advise him to accept, and his father-in-law Philippus urged him to decline the splendid but invidious legacy.

Solidity of judgment and dexterity of mind seem to have been the preeminent qualities of Octavius: his dissimulation was impenetrable; with no other principle of action than the pursuit of his own interest, he regarded all political men and all parties with equal indifference; and a singular coincidence of circumstances, most adroitly managed, threw the means into his hands of playing off every one of them in their turn against the others, until he overreached and destroyed them all.

Antony, the first and last of his opponents, set his face against all his pretensions, and prevented his obtaining the office of

tribune, for which he immediately declared himself a candidate upon an accidental vacancy. Suetonius says that he was a patrician at that time but not yet a senator. The consul's enmity naturally connected Octavius with the aristocracy, and Cicero hailed the opening talents of this extraordinary young man as a providential accession to the cause of freedom.

Brutus and Cassius did not venture to return to Rome during the remaining months of their magistracy: but after some proposals for employing them as commissaries for the purchase of corn abroad, that a legitimate excuse might be afforded for their absence, they took their departure into the provinces of Macedonia and Syria assigned to them by Cæsar; though Antony had made no scruple of annulling this part of Cæsar's acts in an assembly of the people, conferring Brutus's province upon himself and Syria upon Dolabella. His brother Lucius was despatched without loss of time to forestall Brutus in the occupation of the former: but an affair of more immediate urgency determined Antony himself to remain near the seat of government, hoping that

CH. XXX. he might by one bold effort disconcert any projects which the young heir of Cæsar could form against him, and strengthen himself by seizing the important province of Cisalpine Gaul allotted, by Cæsar also, to the other Brutus.

In the mean time Octavius, disappointed in the support which he might naturally have expected from his uncle's most intimate friend, thwarted in his views of advancement, and treated personally with haughtiness and disrespect, declared himself his enemy, and set about attempting his destruction, first by less justifiable means, and afterwards by open war.

The name of Cæsar, and the boldness and energy of a young man who dared in such perilous times to assume and vindicate it, effected wonders. The opening of Pompey's brilliant career, at an age almost as early, had been in many respects not dissimilar. The veterans who formerly served under his uncle flocked to obey his summons from Calatia and Cassilinum; and of the legions returning out of Greece two came over to him, although Antony had hastened to the extremity of Italy to receive and tamper with

them on their landing, and flattered himself that he had either secured them by largesses, or intimidated them by severity, for he left neither means unattempted.' It is surprising that he should have suffered himself to be outbidden; but the bounty offered by Octavius, amounting to about £16 of our money for each man, surpassed that of his competitor, though the latter had it probably more in his power to make an immediate payment. Mortified and disappointed as he was, Antony still found himself at the head of a force sufficient to wrest Cisalpine Gaul from D. Brutus; and he accordingly marched thither before his consular year expired, and summoned Brutus to surrender it. It was the wish and determination of Brutus to maintain the public trust which was given in charge to him, and he forbade the consul to enter within the limits of his government; but with an army unable to take the field, he had no other option left than to withdraw from the open country and shut himself up within the walls of Modena, expecting what his friends could do to relieve him. CH. XXX.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Siege of Modena.—Second Triumvirate.—Proscription.

709. Bef. Xt. 43.

THE consuls of the following year A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa, though among the most confidential friends of Cæsar, and nominated by him to their high office, entered upon their arduous duty with the best dispositions towards the revival of the commonwealth; they lived in great intimacy and consulted much with Cicero, who in this last brilliant year of his life, omitted no exertion to animate the well affected, to expose the ill designs of the opposite party, and to demonstrate that the powers of his mind were no less entire than his devotion to his country. "It was by his advice that Octavius, before he was invested with any public character or authorized by the senate, followed Antony with an army of observation composed of the troops which had voluntarily put themselves under his command."

In the senate, it was a matter of no small difficulty to enforce measures of decision and vigour; nor was it until two embassies had been despatched, or appointed to confer with Antony, that the timid and the temporizing were shamed out of all thoughts of accommodation, and that his open or concealed partisans had nothing left to urge in his behalf. When he was at last voted a public enemy there was no delay in raising two consular armies, at the head of which both the chief magistrates, unfortunately for the republic, marched to relieve D. Brutus; and Octavius was joined with them in the decree for levying war, with the authority of propretor and the rank of senator. He is styled priest in the same vote, to which office his uncle had raised him in his lifetime. The siege of Modena had lasted nearly four months before this seasonable relief came to its succour. Upon the arrival of the consuls two actions were fought, both unfavourable to Antony, in the first of which Pansa received two mortal wounds and was carried off the field to Bologna: in the second, Hirtius after forcing his way into Antony's camp was killed near the general's tent;

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and on the following day his colleague expired at Bologna.

What the conduct of Octavius was in these memorable battles is variously reported; according to Suetonius, he was upbraided by Antony with running away from the first in such consternation, that he did not appear again for two days, and even then he came without his horse or general's habit; but in the latter, he discharged in an eminent degree the duties not only of a general but of a soldier. A more heavy charge lies against him with regard to the two consuls, and suspicions were entertained that he was instrumental in the death of both; for it was surmised that Hirtius had been killed in the confusion of storming the camp by Octavius himself, and that the wounds of Pansa had been poisoned by Glyco the physician. Certain it is that no two men at that moment stood so much in the way of Octavius as the two chief magistrates, and the steps by which he pursued power afterwards indicate no scruples of conscience as to the means by which he might insure it. But with regard to Glyco, M. Brutus interfered to check this foul aspersion by a letter to Cicero, bearing the

fullest testimony to his character and integrity, and totally discrediting so improbable an accusation.

If prompt and vigorous measures had been taken, the war was at an end by this first blow. Antony fled with the whole of his cavalry precipitately towards the Alps; but D. Brutus could not, and Octavius would not pursue him. The time which he thus gained enabled him to work upon the irresolute disposition of Lepidus which seemed to be veering towards the better cause, to raise a party in Lepidus's army, and before many days passed to be received both by the general and the army, more as a commander than a fugitive.

A spirit of disaffection to the senate began to spread widely through every camp, so that the generals could not depend upon nor control their legions. This want of subordination which Lepidus, and perhaps Pollio were glad to lay hold of as an excuse, operated probably upon Plancus contrary to his inclination, and compelled him to make his terms with the prevailing party, to the utter ruin of D. Brutus his destined colleague in the consulate of the next year, and of all those

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whom he was most deeply pledged to defend. Duplicity often wears the garb of plain dealing; but it is really difficult in reading Plancus's manly letters to Cicero during this crisis of anxiety and suspense, to believe that he was acting upon principle and by design that treacherous part which Vel. Paterculus imputes to him.

The army of Decimus which had stood firmly by him in his hardships, deserted him in his better fortune; and after being joined to that of Plancus it was worked upon by the same means and to the same purposes. Decimus himself, before his friends at Rome had done celebrating his deliverance and victory, was in a worse state of destitution than his vanquished opponent; and shortly after, while he was endeavouring to effect his escape out of Italy, he was murdered by a man who owed him great obligations and stood bound by the ties of gratitude to have befriended him. In the mean time Antony found protection from Lepidus the brother in law of M. Brutus, at the head of the best army of the commonwealth, whom public duty as well as family connexion ought to have decided to a contrary conduct.

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Brutus's return into Italy was ardently desired, and Cicero repeatedly pressed him to hasten home with the forces which were at his command, and to exhort Cassius to do the same: but it seems doubtful, after the death of the two consuls, whether even their presence could have been of any avail, and whether they were not acting more prudently, as they were then circumstanced, by continuing to augment their power abroad; which they carried in fact to so great an extent, as to be fully able to contend with whatever could be brought against them out of Italy, if their fortune had been equal to their force.

They had overcome several difficulties which each of them had to encounter upon his first landing. Brutus found Caius the brother of Mark Antony in possession of Illyricum and several parts of Greece, which he soon recovered; Caius also fell into his hands, and was treated with a degree of lenity which exposed the humanity of Brutus to the censure of the violent men of his own party. There was indeed the greatest provocation to retaliate upon the Antonian party their atrocious conduct in the recent case of

Chap. XXXI. Trebonius. This first victim to the manes of Cæsar was treacherously seized at Smyrna by Dolabella, put to death by torture, and thrown into the sea; after which, Dolabella having pillaged that province of its money marched through Cilicia to dispute the province of Syria with Cassius. Failing in an attempt upon Antioch he shut himself up in Laodicea, which was closely invested by Cassius, and he destroyed himself before that city surrendered to prevent a worse fate. Cassius gave Dolabella's body burial with that of his lieutenant, who died in the same manner.

Octavius held a conference with D. Brutus immediately after the battle, and made such professions as quieted in some measure the jealousy which might be naturally entertained of the disposition and designs of Cæsar's heir: but the next step which he took, by marching towards Rome instead of crossing the Apennines, and his demand of the consulate by a deputation of his officers, and at the head of his troops, without one magistrate, tribune, or private senator to propose his nomination, removed all doubts as to the relative estimation in which he held the army and the senate.

His kinsman Q. Pedius was named for his colleague; and the first act of their magistracy was to secure all the public money, and to make a dividend to the soldiers. Complaints were propagated through the camp against the senate for neglecting their just claims, and for not making sufficiently honourable mention of their services, while a triumph was decreed to D. Brutus; and it was industriously insinuated that the Pompeian party would be revived and restored to power. As a matter of personal disrespect, Octavius pretended to take amiss that he was not appointed one of the ten senators for dividing the public lands among the legions; that he had been called a boy in the senate house and treated as such; and with regard to Cicero, whom it suited his present purpose to find some pretext for breaking with, he alleged that an ambiguous word had been used by him which carried the double sense of advancing or taking off, and that he would leave it in no man's power to do the latter. This subject of dissatisfaction was reported to Cicero in a letter from Decimus Brutus, to which he replied, that Labeo Segulius Brutus's informer had told the same

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story to every body, and that he was the greatest knave that ever existed; but he entered into no particulars as to the words themselves, whether any or all of them were used by him or not. In the whole of Cicero's correspondence with his most confidential friends no trace of such an unwarrantable idea is discoverable; nor is it credible that he put into the hands of men like Segulius what he withheld from Brutus, Atticus, and his intimate correspondents.

A law proposed either by Octavius or Pedius, placed the intentions of the new consuls beyond all doubt with regard to revenging Cæsar's death; for it enacted, that all those who had been concerned in compassing or effecting it should be brought to justice and interdicted from fire and water; to which number S. Pompey was specially added by name.

When Lepidus received Antony the senate declared him an enemy, depending upon the concord of Decimus Brutus and Plancus, and upon the fidelity of their troops; but in such fluctuating times every thing vacillated. A correspondence was set on foot between the two first and Octavius,

before he became consul; but no sooner was he well settled in his office, than he marched back towards Gaul to meet them, after they had already crossed to the Italian side of the Alps. A personal interview was held between these three commanders in a small island near Bononia, where they passed three days in adjusting the partition of power. The result was a compact that they should be invested with supreme and equal authority for five years, with the title of triumvirs for settling the commonwealth; that Octavius should have Africa, Sicily, and the other islands of the Mediterranean; Lepidus Spain with Narbonese Gaul; and Antony the other two Gauls on both sides of the Alps; that Octavius and Antony, with twenty legions each, should prosecute the war against Brutus and Cassius, while Lepidus should remain in Italy with three legions. Eighteen of the best cities or colonies in Italy were promised as a reward to their soldiers on the conclusion of the war; and that this political union might be strengthened by a family connexion, Octavius engaged to marry Claudia the daughter of Antony's wife Fulvia by her first husband

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P. Clodius. After agreeing upon the most difficult of all points, the division of empire, it is not probable that they debated long upon the victims to be sacrificed to it: each of the contracting parties, with affected reluctance perhaps, might make a merit of giving up his own relatives and friends to the security of the common cause, or to the particular resentment of his colleagues. L. Cæsar Antony's uncle, and Paullus the brother of Lepidus, were included in the fatal list. The flatterers of Augustus's fortune endeavoured to palliate, as an act of hard necessity, his abandoning Cicero to the revenge of Antony; as if there could remain any feeling towards Cicero but that of shame and aversion, in one who had made himself the accomplice of Antony and Lepidus for the subversion of the republic.

The revival of this terrible engine of private vengeance filled the whole city with dismay. In Sylla's time there was only one tyrant whose enemies were to be sacrificed; but what man of talents or consequence could be secure that he was considered as harmless by every one of three usurpers? The first who actually fell a victim to this

proscription, strange as it may appear, was the consul Pedius himself; for his anxiety and agitation became so violent in endeavouring to allay the universal consternation, and to relieve the apprehensions of his friends upon the first rumour of this sanguinary edict, that he died suddenly of excessive fatigue and vexation. The catalogue of the proscribed is said to have contained either one hundred and forty, or three hundred senators, and two thousand knights; but not more than seventeen were considered as the most obnoxious, who were hunted out before the other names were posted up. Even after the first publication new names were added from time to time; the means of escape, or concealment by favour, affection, or accident were however afforded to some few of those who were destined to destruction. Neither L. Cæsar nor P. Lepidus were deprived of life. But Antony's anger neither cooled nor slumbered: his illustrious victim was overtaken near to his Formian villa, in the sixty fourth year of his age, as he was preparing to take ship. Careless of life, sick of the evil times, and indifferent about escaping he stretched out his

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neck to the leader of the party of assassins Popilius Lænas, in whom he recognized an old client, whom he had formerly defended and saved when he was tried for his life. Plutarch gives the infamy of this action to Herennius a centurion, while Popilius was searching for his prey in another direction. The head and right hand of this great man who had been hailed as the father of his country, exhibited in the forum, and fixed upon the rostra, gave a dreadful presage of what the remaining friends of liberty might expect.

The rarest natural endowments cultivated by study, and sharpened by the business of an active life gave to Cicero a distinguished rank in this age of extraordinary men: with powers of speaking beyond what had been heard in his own country, and perhaps not inferior to those which ever adorned any other, he possessed in a degree superior to all other orators, of whatever age or nation, a general and extensive knowledge of all subjects of science, philosophy and literature, together with an admirable felicity of communicating and recording the fruits of his researches, in the

most perspicuous, the most copious, and the most attractive manner. To those who delight in levelling whatever is eminent, and in exposing the weaknesses of exalted characters it must be conceded, that in adversity he did not preserve that constancy which has given dignity to the misfortunes of some stronger minds struggling against a sea of troubles; and that his exalted talents, although not overrated even by his own partiality, would have commanded greater admiration, and deserved higher respect, had he himself appeared less conscious of them: but it must be remembered that he showed no timidity when the discharge of public duties placed him in situations of great personal danger; that no degenerate expression escaped him when the assassin's dagger was at his throat; and that his love of praise never led him to court popularity by unworthy arts, nor diverted him from pursuing that course which he judged to be the best for his country. His friendship for and co-operation with Pompey, Cato, and Brutus evinced that his political views were sincere and honest, and that he was content to take a subordinate part when the salvation of the

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commonwealth was at stake. Cicero's political sagacity has been called in question on account of his confidence in Octavius; but even if he could have sounded all the depths of that unfathomable mind, it is difficult to conceive how he could have acted otherwise than he did, or to any better purpose. Antony was the immediate enemy to be subdued, or the republic was gone; and surely the heir of Cæsar at open variance with Antony, and enlisting his uncle's legions against him, afforded the best chance of reducing his power, which in fact was completely effected at Modena. The unforeseen death of both the consuls afforded an opportunity for two enemies most unexpectedly to coalesce and conspire against the liberties of their country, which probably had never entered into the imagination of either of them before the issue of that fatal battle.

Velleius Paterculus, who wrote about seventy years after these events reckoning this dreadful year of the proscription as the seven hundred and ninth from the building of the city, says that it was remarked generally with regard to the proscribed, that the

fidelity of their wives was exemplary; that the attachment of their freedmen was not to be complained of; that some of their slaves showed the same virtuous feelings; but that there was no instance of gratitude or duty in any son towards his father. Appian on the contrary, who has preserved many interesting and very amusing details of the escape or destruction of several individuals, leads us to believe that these generalities are not accurately true, and that as there was no one of these classes so pure as to be exempt from blame, so there was none so vicious as to be without some splendid exceptions in favour of morality and natural affection.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Battle of Philippi.

Antony, and his successor in the consulate Octavius had laid hands upon whatever was to be found in the treasury; so that among the difficulties which the opposite party had to struggle against one of the greatest was a total want of money. Many of those who wished well to the cause of the commonwealth could not bear the idea of rendering it unpopular by imposing taxes, of which since the conquest of Macedonia by P. Æmilius no example nor necessity is said to have existed. Some sort of tribute however, or capitation tax proportioned to each man's property, seems to have been already revived on account of the exigency of these times; and Cicero speaks of one hundredth part having been actually levied upon property, which was all immediately given as a donative to the two legions that came over to Octavius;

in which assessment, he further says that the rich were most shamefully underrated. D. Brutus spent a vast sum of his own money, but was supplied with none from the public. The mild and equitable temper of M. Brutus could not find the means of paying and subsisting his army; but Cassius, a more just reasoner in matters of this kind, knew that their cause could only be supported by the same means which were employed in attacking it. Velleius in comparing their characters says, that a man would rather have had the first for a friend, but that he would have been more afraid of Cassius as an enemy.

The government of the triumvirate courting no popular feelings had recourse without scruple to the reenactment of old modes of raising contributions, and to the devising of new. Those on slaves and land are enumerated by Dion as ancient; besides which houses, if let were taxed at the whole rent, and if occupied by the owners at the half of their value; farms were rated at half of their produce; and subsistence was ordered to be furnished gratuitously by the towns to the soldiers quartered upon them. But

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more arbitrary and partial impositions were also laid upon those who were supposed best able to pay; and the proscription, after it had spent its first force upon the persons of the obnoxious, seemed afterwards to be let loose upon the wealth and property of all. A contribution of one tenth of the whole substance that they possessed was exacted from those who were singled out as opulent; and under pretence that the return made by themselves to the first assessment was inadequate and fraudulent, they were compelled to submit to the payment of a second tenth. Another project was to assess all women who were possessed of any property; and a list of fourteen hundred liable to this tax was drawn out; in opposition to which Hortensia pleaded the cause of her sex before the triumvirs in a strain of eloquence worthy of her father, and succeeded in reducing the number to four hundred. One year's income towards supporting the war, and a loan of one fiftieth part of the property of all men who were worth more than a specified sum, were resorted to for supplying this deficiency. The estates and goods of the proscribed when sold by public auc-

tion produced much less than they were estimated at. It was equally dangerous in such times to appear rich, or to bid against those in power. Chap. XXXII.

The affairs of Brutus and Cassius in the mean time gathered strength and acquired solidity. After Greece was secured, the Lycians were subdued by the former, and the very difficult conquest of Rhodes was achieved by the latter. Meeting at Smyrna they crossed with their combined armies into Macedonia; upon the confines of which near the town of Philippi the two memorable battles were fought, which extinguished those two great luminaries of the republic, and with them the last hopes of Roman freedom. In the first engagement, Cassius who was unquestionably the abler commander of the two was worsted, with the loss of his camp; while Brutus routed the wing to which he was opposed, and took the camp of Octavius. Young Cæsar who was too ill to bear an active part in the battle (according to every account except that of the courtly Velleius) escaped being taken prisoner in his tent, owing to a dream of his physician Artorius. The advantage was upon the whole

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decidedly on the part of the republicans, if a false foreboding of ill in the mind of Cassius, and a premature fit of despair had allowed him to await the return of Titinius, whom he sent forward to learn, amidst the dust and confusion, whether those who were advancing towards him were friends or enemies. Titinius, in the joy of finding that they were friends, forgot the urgency of the business on which he was sent, and the gloomy temper of Cassius, interpreting every thing in the worst sense, ordered his freedman Pindarus to cut his head off. An act so unaccountable at such a time, and in such a man, has led some authors to a conjecture still less credible, that the freedman dared to take away the general's life without his orders: but subsequent events proved that something like fatality hung over all who conspired against Cæsar, of whom not one survived him three years, nor died in the ordinary course of nature.

On the same day a considerable naval victory was gained by Domitius Ahenobarbus over the fleet of the triumvirs, in which action missile shafts of fire are mentioned as being used with great effect. The supe-

riority of the republicans at sea, and the inconvenient position of Antony's camp, made it difficult to supply his army; and had he failed in bringing on a second action, the want of provisions must have obliged him to retire. Brutus was fully sensible of this advantage, and of the policy of remaining inactive; but teased and goaded by his troops, and not quite secure of their steadiness if unemployed in the face of an insulting enemy, he gave up, like Pompey, his better judgment to their ill founded confidence, and with no better issue. After the battle was lost, retiring from the field he passed the night in great anxiety, not seeming immediately to have determined upon death, but to have first deliberated whether the present disaster admitted of his being any longer useful to his country. His chance of escaping was certainly precarious, and his means of reviving the cause most uncertain; under such circumstances therefore it is not surprising that he followed upon reflection the example which his brother-in-law had set him without cause or reflection. He made use of his friend Strato to hold the sword on which he fell, after Volumnius

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and others had refused that sad office. He died in his thirty seventh year according to Velleius; but if he was only fifteen years younger than Cæsar he must have been forty-two or forty three. The epitome of Livy says that he was about forty.

The last words of this excellent man are variously reported: one verse of Euripides calling down vengeance on the author of these calamities was recollected by Volumnius, who said that he could not remember another line used by Brutus. The exclamation taken from the character of Hercules on the unsubstantial nature of virtue written by the same poet is another passage supposed to have been repeated by him, which rests upon the authority of Dion Cassius and of Florus. Plutarch puts into his mouth a short and affecting address to those about him, expressive of his entire satisfaction in their fidelity, as well as in the course which he had pursued, and complaining of nothing except fortune, and of her only for the sake of his country, but not of himself. The story of the phantom which appeared to him as his evil genius in Asia, and made an appointment for a second meeting at Philippi, seems

to have been current at the time; and it is not improbable that a mind harassed by anxiety, and capable of little rest might between sleeping and waking embody some horrible form, and fancy that it addressed him; which nearly agrees with the solution attributed by Plutarch to Cassius, who having joined the sect of Epicurus, after he renounced the Stoics, became an unbeliever in demons and spirits. Porcia is said to have put an end to her life by closing her mouth upon some burning coals when no other means of death were left in her power; but it seems that one of Cicero's letters to Brutus can hardly be applied to any other occasion than that of her death, which must therefore have happened earlier, and it is so understood by Middleton the latest and best of Cicero's biographers.

Messala Corvinus a young man of high character, and next in authority to Brutus and Cassius, chose rather to submit to the times than to set himself up as the head of the party; and the remains of the army to the number of about fourteen thousand made no difficulty in transferring their allegiance, and were incorporated into the

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legions which they had just opposed. The sons of Cato, of Lucullus, and Hortensius perished in the field; many eminent men whom the chance of war had spared laid violent hands on themselves; the last moments of those who were taken prisoners were rendered more bitter by the cruelty and insults of the conquerors, in which Cæsar showed a more implacable and rancorous disposition than his colleague. The body of Brutus was treated with respect by Antony and his ashes sent to Servilia; but the head was cut off by Cæsar's order, to be laid at the feet of his uncle's statue: the intended offering however never reached its destination, but was thrown overboard in a violent storm.

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Perugian War.

A NEW partition of the empire was made after this great victory by the two chiefs, in which their absent partner Lepidus was little considered; they altered his share without consulting him, and allotted to him only Africa in exchange. Cæsar who continued in an infirm state of health was desirous of returning into Italy, where it was agreed that he should undertake the task of dividing the lands, and parcelling out the colonies to the soldiers according to the promises held out to them; while Antony engaged to settle the affairs of Asia, and to raise money from the provinces and dependent states for the same purpose. The legions were nearly divided between them; but those entitled by length of service to their discharge were to be disbanded, and settled at home. The naval power continued prin-

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cipally in the hands of Sextus Pompey, who had received with open arms the proscribed and fugitives from all quarters, and after enriching himself by plunder and contributions found himself in the possession of Sicily and Sardinia, with the opportunity of affecting most materially the subsistence and supply of the capital of the world. Statius Murcus joined him with a great part of the republican fleet, after the ruin of that cause; Domitius Ahenobarbus with another division of it remained uncertain what part to take, until Asinius Pollio persuaded him, when hostilities broke out shortly after, to join Antony. In the East there was nothing to resist the Roman power; but Antony himself was made a willing captive by the queen of Egypt, who came into Cilicia to attend his summons. The passion which he at once conceived for her was so violent and so lasting, that it seemed to absorb every other object or consideration, and was extinguished only in the premature death to which it conducted him.

The business with which Cæsar had charged himself was of much greater difficulty; which arose in part, although without

any apparent connexion, from this new attachment of his colleague. Lucius the brother of Mark Antony was one of the consuls, and as Dion Cassius says Fulvia his wife was in reality the other, a woman of a masculine and domineering spirit, no less able to perform the duties than she was ready to wear the sword of a soldier. To draw back Antony into Italy from the charms of Cleopatra was a natural desire in an intriguing and jealous mind; and the ancient authors do not seem chargeable with too great refinement, in reckoning this as one of the proximate causes of the civil war which bore the name of the Perugian.

711. Bef. Xt. 41.

The public professions of Lucius were for the restoration of the consular government, and the abolition of the triumvirate, the legitimate term of which, as well as all excuse for continuing it was at an end.

Other popular topics put the consul at the head of numerous and strenuous partisans. The subversion and spoliation of all private property throughout Italy with very few exceptions, which Cæsar thought at first necessary to satisfy the veterans, alarmed every man of estate or substance; and those

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who could not be roused into action upon the antiquated notions of the constitution were ready enough to draw the sword in defence of their farms and property, particularly when they had a strong party to rely upon, and every reason to expect the full support of Antony.

Every township became a field of battle; the soldiers endeavoured to seize, the lawful proprietors to retain; and Italy was filled with murders, conflagrations, and violence. Lucius and Fulvia had the address not to alienate the military while they courted the landed interest; for they gave out, that the property of those who had been in arms against them, and some other extraordinary resources would afford ample means of remunerating their adherents. But with regard to Cæsar, the case was different, and he could hardly avoid offending both: if ever he listened to the complaints of the injured, he incurred the displeasure of the veterans; but when he gave to these all that they could ask, they accepted it with little gratitude, and considered it as no more than their due. The modifications made in Cæsar's original plan of confiscation were in favour of the

property held by senators, of the dowers of women, and of all persons possessed of portions below the quantity to be allotted to each soldier: all other estates within the districts marked out seem to have been absolutely taken possession of, as if acquired by right of conquest, and twenty three legions were considered as entitled to receive their respective shares in them. The markets of Italy were at the same time ill supplied with corn; Sicily sent none; and it was in Pompey's power to prevent importation from all other parts. Cæsar's character for courage and military talent never stood so high as it perhaps deserved; and the troops, for whose sake he was committing such intolerable injustice, were ready to break out into mutiny upon the slightest provocation. So loose indeed was their attachment to him, that upon occasion of a false rumour with regard to one of their comrades, they were upon the point of killing him in the theatre: the report was, that a soldier had been made away with for intruding into a seat where he was not allowed to sit: and nothing but the personal

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appearance of the supposed sufferer prevented this act of violence.

Fulvia seized Præneste and appeared armed at the head of her troops. The senate tried means of accommodation, with which Cæsar professed himself willing to comply, though suspicions were entertained, according to Suetonius, that he was in reality desirous of driving all those of the opposite party into open warfare, that they might be known and their property confiscated. He gained the important support of a large body of veterans by offering to abide by their arbitration; the senate also declared in his favour; and proclaimed the consul and his followers enemies to their country. With these encouragements Cæsar marched out to take the field against them, leaving Lepidus with two legions to guard the city. But Lucius making an unexpected movement suddenly appeared in force at the gates, and took possession of Rome without resistance, while Lepidus made his escape to Cæsar. In this short interval of prosperity the consul harangued the people, whom he assembled in the forum, on the unconstitutional government of the

triumvirate, undertaking for his brother, that he would willingly resign his share of it, and restore the republic. Ventidius, Pollio, and Plancus the principal lieutenants of his brother stood aloof for want of instructions, and attempted nothing in concert, until the opportunity was passed: so that Lucius was obliged to quit the capital, directing his march towards Gaul for the purpose of intercepting a force under Salvidienus which was about to join his opponent; but he was disappointed in this expectation also; and instead of continuing upon the offensive, he found himself compelled to take shelter in the strong city of Perugia, which Cæsar immediately invested.

The great talents of Agrippa were first brought into notice in this short campaign; but the promptitude and energy of Cæsar himself were also conspicuous in the movement which he made upon an alarm of the approach of Antony's lieutenants, as well as in the masterly conduct of the works of circumvallation, which precluded those within from the possibility either of receiving supplies, or of making their escape. In the brave garrison and their leader there was

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no want of resolution nor endurance; they made the boldest efforts of desperate men urged by the dread of famine; and it was not until all attempts to extricate themselves became hopeless, that they thought of capitulating. Lucius, in a spirit of romantic heroism put himself, without any previous stipulation for his own life or liberty, into Cæsar's power, and began a conference for the safety of his comrades; and Cæsar, with a generosity and liberality seldom discernible in his early actions, granted whatever conditions he chose to ask. It would indeed have been difficult, even if he had wished it, to punish or disgrace the followers of Lucius, whom his own soldiers flew to embrace as old friends and received with open arms: but upon the poor Perugians both the general and the army agreed in taking terrible revenge. All the senators of that unfortunate municipality, excepting one, were put to death; and a report was current that three or four hundred of the knights were sacrificed upon an altar dedicated to Julius Cæsar. The intended sacking of the city was prevented by a fire which burned to the ground every house within the walls;

it was kindled by Cestius Macedonicus as a funeral pile for himself. Chap. XXXIII.

Fulvia fled with her children, and was accompanied into Greece by Plancus, whose army in part deserted him, and in part was deserted by him. The reputation of Cæsar increased by the speedy termination of this war; many fell off from Antony to join him; Gaul was given up to him; and the whole province of Spain became at his disposal, into which he sent Lucius with an honourable title of command, but with those placed about him who could watch and control him.

When the news of these transactions reached Antony he was not long in making his appearance upon the coast of Italy, having been joined on his voyage by Domitius Ahenobarbus with the important accession of his powerful fleet. Cæsar's garrison at Brundisium refused them admittance, alleging that Ahenobarbus was an attainted man as having been privy to the death of Cæsar; upon which they instantly invested the place. Pompey, who had already made overtures to Antony, was called upon to alarm and distress the towns upon 712. Bef. Xt. 40.

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the coast; and every thing bore the appearance of renewed and durable war; when on a sudden harmony was restored. The first overtures for accommodation which were made by Cocceius, were perfected by Pollio and Mæcenas, who were appointed commissioners to settle the terms. The opportune death of Fulvia at Sicyon, as it removed the original firebrand of discord, gave an opening for a still closer union between the rivals, by the marriage of Antony to Octavia Cæsar's sister, who was lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus. Fulvia's haughty spirit could not bear the coldness with which Antony received her at Athens: she was tormented by the reports of his passion for Cleopatra, to which she attributed the dissatisfaction which he expressed at her turbulent proceedings; and her declining health sunk under this vexation and disappointment. Cæsar had divorced Fulvia's daughter Claudia, taking an oath that he had never cohabited with her, and he married Scribonia Libo's sister, with a view of gaining some interest with S. Pompey through Libo who was his father-in-law. The third wife

of Cæsar, Livia Drusilla whom he married, from inclination, nearly a year after, was at this time wandering about as a fugitive, with his future heir and successor in her arms, and seeking an asylum in Sicily from the dread of falling into Cæsar's hands, who was highly incensed against her husband Claudius Tiberius Nero, for putting himself at the head of the landowners in Campania, and opposing the military allotments.

Lepidus was allowed to take possession of Africa, which Cæsar wished him to consider as a boon received from himself. If Pompey was named in the treaty, or intended to be included as an ally of Antony's, it seems hardly to have had the effect of even suspending hostilities between him and Cæsar, whose lieutenant Helenus was driven out of Sardinia by Pompey's admiral; the blockade of the Italian ports was not interrupted; and the Roman people, clamorous for the corn with which they used to be supplied from Sicily, received with discontent and complaint the authors of a pacification in which their comforts and wants had been so little attended to. The

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weight and increase of taxation afforded additional ground for murmurs, and made the maritime war extremely unpopular, though the objects which were particularly selected for increased duties, slaves and legacies, afforded probably two of the least exceptionable which could have been devised. Cæsar was the more odious of the two, because Antony was known to be desirous of making peace with Pompey; but the lives of both were in considerable danger from the fury of the populace, when Antony came boldly forward to support his colleague, against whom the attack was directed. The military repulsed the populace, many of whom were killed, and their bodies thrown into the Tiber. A calm of intimidation succeeded: the government was hated and feared; but the scarcity increased; and it became impossible to hold out against the demands of a turbulent people exasperated by distress, and rendered desperate by the prospect of famine.

After some unsuccessful overtures, it was agreed that Pompey should retain all the islands in the Mediterranean which he possessed, and that he should receive in

addition Achaia with the Peloponnesus, to be held during the continuance of the triumvirate; that the slaves whom he had inlisted should remain free; and that his other soldiers should upon their discharge be entitled to the same gratuities as those of Cæsar and Antony; that he should be raised to the consulate, with the power of deputing any friend to execute it in his absence; and that he should be chosen into the highest order of priesthood. In favour of those to whom he had afforded shelter and protection, Pompey stipulated that with the exception of those concerned in Cæsar's death, all the exiles and proscribed might return home, and that the first should receive back the whole of their confiscated or sequestrated property except their moveables, and the proscribed one fourth. Among those whom Sextus had entertained with the greatest kindness, having once rescued him from death when he was taken prisoner and now restored him to his country and property, was Titius, who lived to repay this large debt of gratitude by the murder of his benefactor. In return for what Pompey received nothing was required upon his

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part but that the usual supply of corn should be delivered at stated periods; that the navigation should be left open and unmolested; that his garrisons should be withdrawn from the coast of Italy, and that his navy should not be augmented.

The rejoicings in the different armies, and throughout Italy, upon this prospect of tranquillity and abundance were excessive: among the chiefs, an unbounded confidence succeeded to a state of distrust and enmity, which placed Cæsar and Antony in the most imminent peril while they were feasting on board of Pompey's ship. Menas, (or Menodorus as Appian calls him) his father's freedman, who was in the highest trust and favour with him, whispered in his ear and asked whether he should cut the cable, and put to sea while the lives of the two masters of the world were at his mercy. Sextus refused to sanction such a violation of hospitality when the question was directly put to him; intimating however to Menas, that
713. it might have been a fit thing enough for him to have done without waiting for orders.

The perfidious temper of Menas induced him not long after to desert his master, and to

go over to Cæsar with a considerable number of ships, putting him also in possession of Sardinia, which immediately rekindled the war. Cæsar alleged various infractions of the treaty upon Pompey's part, particularly continued acts of piracy, and he refused to make restitution of the island. He gave to Menas a gold ring, and raised him to the equestrian rank with an extensive command, for which his great nautical talents rendered him as fit as his falsehood made him unworthy. Menas deserted again after great exertions in Cæsar's services, and returned, not empty handed, to his first master; whom he quitted a second time with the same fickleness and perfidy before the conclusion of the war, and was again received by Cæsar. Antony, who detested him for his treachery, threatened to seize upon him as one of Pompey's runaway slaves, whom he had a right to reclaim, as having purchased all Cn. Pompey's property at the public auction.

During the first period of hostilities Pompey was in general successful; and the elements combined with him in destroying repeatedly the whole of Cæsar's navy. Elated by this course of prosperity Sextus chose

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to be considered as the son of Neptune, and dressing himself according to that character committed all sorts of fooleries and cruelties; while Antony took upon himself the style and title of young Bacchus, which he had first assumed at Athens on his return out of Italy. The cooler and more reflecting head of Octavius did not entirely preserve him from catching this extravagant and profane fancy of deifying himself; and a scandalous tale is preserved, with an epigram attached to it, of his being detected at a banquet with all the decorations of Apollo, surrounded by eleven more masqueraders, who supported the characters of the other deities male and female of the highest order. But these absurdities and violations of decorum were in Cæsar rare and transitory; the fortitude with which he bore his losses, the activity and perseverance with which he laboured to repair them, and the ample resources which he displayed in fitting out fresh armaments, indicated a firmness of mind and an extent of means capable of surmounting every obstacle and of rising superior to two such rivals, whose excesses and vices were increased in proportion to

their power of indulging them, and restrained by no regard to decency. Chap. XXXIII.

The great work of making the Lucrine and Avernian lakes into a commodious dock-yard and safe harbour was planned and executed by Agrippa, that the fleet which he was forming might remain secure from the attack of a superior enemy, and that he might have a basin for training and exercising his sailors. The assistance which Antony contributed towards the close of this war amounted to one hundred and twenty ships, in return for which Cæsar engaged to lend him twenty thousand Italian infantry to prosecute his schemes against the Parthians. Suspicions jealousies and expostulations were nevertheless continually arising between them, which for the present the good sense and prudence of Octavia, who remained in Italy, allayed and adjusted. Lepidus seems to have been tardy, if not unwilling to cooperate; but at last he landed a considerable force at Lilybæum from the coast of Africa, that he might be ready either to make a merit of joining his colleague in case of success, or to profit by any disaster that might befall him.

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Dion accuses Lepidus of holding a secret correspondence with Pompey.

The battle of Mylæ, in which Agrippa gained a decisive victory over the enemy's fleet commanded by Papias, was counterbalanced by a dreadful reverse at Taurominium immediately after; where Cæsar was surprised by Pompey while he was taking ground for his camp; and the consternation was so great, that if Pompey had known how to profit by it the final issue of the whole contest might perhaps have been de-
714. termined by it. Cæsar's person was at no time in greater peril. Viewing the ill posture of his army on shore, and without a sufficient naval force to cope with that which Pompey, notwithstanding his defeat, had so unexpectedly drawn together, after using every exertion to animate his seamen he trusted his own safety to a small vessel, which landed him at the port of Abala without a friend or companion near him, and attended by a single armourbearer. The sufferings of his troops in their march from Taurominium to Mylæ were terrible: they were cut off from all supply of water, and many of them perished by thirst.

Cornificius whose resolution and perseverance preserved what remained of this harassed army valued himself so highly upon his conduct, that whenever he went out to supper at Rome he is said always to have returned home upon an elephant. This temporary disaster was however soon repaired, and Cæsar found himself in sufficient force to return into the island, and to carry on the siege of Messina. Lepidus came to meet him at Artimisium.

The great engagement which put an end to the war was fought, as Appian relates, on a challenge given by Pompey between three hundred ships on each side; and the victory was not more owing to the general skill and activity of Agrippa, than to a particular machine of his invention, which the enemy being totally unprepared for had no means of counteracting. This formidable engine seems to have been an improvement upon the crow, or grappling hook, of which we frequently read in older times; but with regard to another discovery in the same art of which no earlier traces are to be met with, it may be observed in passing that among the instruments of de-

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struction used in some of the naval actions during this war, mention is made of fiery arrows, by which vessels were burned from a great distance, and without coming into contact with each other.

With seventeen ships, the whole remainder of his naval power, Pompey after taking on board his daughter and his treasure set sail by night from Messina. Cæsar made no attempt to follow him, having a more important advantage thrown into his hands, without moving out of the island and without bloodshed. Plemmius who came too late to accompany Pompey in his flight threw himself into Messina, and took the command of the garrison; but feeling unable to defend it permanently against the combined forces of Lepidus and Agrippa who were besieging it, he offered to surrender upon terms. Agrippa refused to conclude any thing until Cæsar, who happened to be absent, could be consulted; but Lepidus, eager to strengthen himself by the accession of Pompey's garrison and to gain possession of so strong a place, entered into a treaty with him, by which it was agreed that the city should be delivered up

716. Bef. Xt. 36.

to Lepidus, with the garrison; in consideration of which the troops serving under Pompey were to share the plunder of the place with those of Lepidus. As soon as the gates were opened the work of pillage was eagerly begun by both, and carried on during the whole night.

Cæsar was sent for in haste: upon his arrival he found his colleague elated by seeing himself at the head of twenty two legions, and not inclined to submit patiently to the degradation which he had been exposed to under the assumed superiority of Cæsar: he complained of the neglect with which he had so long been treated, and talked of keeping Sicily as an indemnification for what had been unfairly taken from him after the battle of Philippi. The expostulations of Lepidus were reasonable enough; all that he wanted was the ability to enforce them. Cæsar, on the other hand, in the management of this hazardous business showed all that presence of mind, solidity of judgment and penetration into the designs and motives of others which distinguished every part of his conduct: he showed also what was not so established a

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quality in his character, great personal intrepidity at a moment when he found himself almost unattended, and unexpectedly attacked in the very centre of Lepidus's camp. Matters were ripe for nothing less than a new civil war, if the soldiers of Lepidus had been commanded by a general worth fighting for, or rendered popular by his liberality: but Cæsar's emissaries had already tampered with, and distributed money among the newly incorporated Pompeians of the garrison; and in the old soldiers there was no attachment nor respect to prevent them from following the example of desertion. Lepidus in this extremity boldly caught hold of an eagle and would have led them on in person, which if done by a commander entitled to respect might have at once quelled the mutiny; but the standard-bearer only warned Lepidus, that if he did not let it go he would cut him down.

In the course of one night his camp was almost evacuated; and early the next morning the general himself, when he saw all the remainder preparing to flock to Cæsar, throwing off his habit of command ran among the foremost. Cæsar, ever in pos-

session of himself, felt what was due to his own character in preventing the abject humiliation of his despicable colleague; and rising to meet him, would not allow him to throw himself at his feet. Lepidus was ordered to be embarked for Italy without giving him time even to change his dress: but Cæsar would not listen to any proposals for depriving him of the high priesthood, nor for taking away his life. Relegated to Circeii, but brought occasionally, as if in mockery, to Rome and forced into the senate house, he dragged on an inglorious existence secured by degradation and insignificance. Chap. XXXIII. 716.

Pompey in the mean time directed his course to Mitylene, where he had in his early years first become acquainted with the two extremes of fortune, immediately before and after the battle of Pharsalia. It was his design to put himself under Antony's protection, which he sent to solicit: but most unfortunately for him, this prudent resolution was disturbed by the news of Antony's ill success in Media, where he was waging an unprofitable and inglorious war against the Medes and Parthians. Pompey's ardent mind easily susceptible of false hopes be-

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came suddenly possessed by chimeras of rising upon Antony's fall; he set about increasing his numbers by new levies, and training his men; and though he continued to use the language of a suppliant, his actions in the field were those of an enterprising enemy. He engaged Furnius one of Antony's lieutenants, and actually took his camp: but when Titius with a larger force from Syria came up, there was no rational hope of further success; still however he wavered between capitulating and resisting, until unable to keep his friends together, betrayed by a deserter, and abandoned by all his followers he became the easy prize of a body of cavalry which pursued him. Pompey had professed himself willing to surrender upon conditions to Furnius, or to Amyntas; but objected to putting himself into the hands of Titius who was in the chief command: and the event proved that he judged too justly of this ungrateful wretch whom no obligations could bind to the greatest of benefactors in his adverse fortune. Titius lost not a moment in taking away his life as soon as he
717. had him in his power. Whether Antony gave such an order, or if he gave whether he did

not countermand it is uncertain: he was not ill inclined towards Sextus; nor among all his vices was Antony implacable or ungenerous towards those who sought him. The public indignation upon a subsequent occasion visited this rank offence upon Titius, when he was giving plays to the people in Pompey's theatre, and obliged him to withdraw from the performance by hisses, groans, and execrations.

S. Pompey was cut off in his fortieth year at Miletus. He possessed a genius and temper suitable to the bustling and tumultuary times in which he lived, and probably would have risen to no distinction under a state of quiet and regularity. His total ignorance and disregard of literature, and a provincial vulgarity in his way of speaking were the natural consequences of an education surprisingly neglected in his early years, of his roaming and unsettled way of life, and of the low company to which he was habitually addicted, and by which he was governed. In quickness of capacity and spirit of enterprise he yielded to none who were opposed to him: in judgment he certainly was not their equal; nor had

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he the talent of improving to the utmost some of those great opportunities which his valour and fortune more than once threw in his way. His honour and integrity have been compared, much to his disadvantage, with those qualities which stood eminently high in the character of his father; but it does not appear that either of those two friends, or rivals whom it was his lot to combat, or to treat with, could impute any breach of faith to him of which they had not set him an example. Antony, whose ally he was, took no care of him when he settled his own private differences with Cæsar; nor would he deliver up Greece to Sextus according to the subsequent agreement, until he had first plundered it: and with regard to Cæsar, the overt acts by which the treaty was broken were certainly imputable to him, though he endeavoured to recriminate upon the piracy of Pompey. In refusing to allow the grand stroke of perfidy which Menas proposed when the lives of his two competitors were at his disposal, Sextus gave one memorable instance at least of preferring his honour to his interest.

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During this turbulent period great irregularities prevailed in every department and order of the state: the increased expenses of the government occasioned fresh impositions upon the people, whose indignation was directed against the officers by whom they were collected; and these quarrels often proceeded to violence. In filling up the numerous vacancies in the senate little regard was had by the governing powers to the qualifications or condition of those whom they introduced; favour and interest admitted many who had been soldiers, and some who were foreigners, or the sons of freedmen; nor were instances wanting even of slaves who found their way into that august body. Dion mentions one who was recognised and carried back by his master when he was about to serve the office of quæstor; and another, who for intruding himself among the pretors was thrown from the Tarpeian rock after receiving his freedom. One of these new made senators wished to exhibit as a gladiator, which had probably been his profession; but the consequence of this breach of decorum was a law to prohibit all senators from fighting on the stage.

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A regulation of police was made about the same time forbidding the burning of bodies within the city, or within the distance of fifteen furlongs from the gates.

The number of slaves who ran away from their masters during the Sicilian war was prodigious. Pompey received all who came to him and enlisted them into his army; while this desertion was considered at Rome as a public calamity of so serious a nature, that the Vestals offered up solemn prayers and vows to stop its progress. Cæsar is said to have manumitted twenty thousand slaves, and to have employed them as rowers in his fleet; but if he did this himself, he had no sort of indulgence for the slaves who had entered into the service of others; for when he became master of Lepidus's troops he sent back all those who were not of free condition to their masters, where their masters could be found; but wherever they could not, he crucified the slaves; and after the conclusion of the war the same cruelty was practised upon a more extended scale throughout both Italy and Sicily, by means of sealed orders despatched to the several divisions of his dispersed

army, which were to be opened on the same day. These miserable victims were all sent as prisoners to Rome according to Appian, but he does not mention their total number. It was one of the main conditions of Cæsar's treaty with Sextus Pompey, that the slaves who had joined him should remain free; and their freedom was also confirmed by the senate. The filling up of the senate took place while Antony was in Italy; and at the same time successive consuls were designated for eight years: the reason given for both these proceedings was the probable absence of Antony for a considerable time on account of the Parthian war.

These consulates, though they conveyed only a subordinate power, were anxiously coveted by the friends of those at whose joint disposal all the great offices were held; and it sometimes happened, that in their desire to gratify a multitude of expectants, nothing like an entire year could be afforded to every claimant: subdivisions and substitutions were made in the allotment of the envied honours; and days, and even shorter periods were accepted by those who would take these honorary distinctions upon any terms, rather

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than wait longer in suspense. There were however many instances of individuals who were more solicitous to decline offices than others were to obtain them; avoiding all such distinctions as public burdens, which their narrow circumstances could not enable them to support. M. Oppius was one of these: but his popularity was so great, that the people would not suffer him to wave
716. the office of edile, and raised a subscription to afford him the means of serving it. During his whole life it was the good fortune of Oppius to continue the favourite of the people; and upon his death they carried his body in procession to the field of Mars, and after burning it, interred the remains in that sacred ground. But this extravagant respect paid to his memory gave umbrage to the senate, by whose orders these remains were dug up, and removed in conformity to a sentence pronounced by the priests, that they had been deposited there without due regard to religious observances.

It was hardly possible to satisfy the expectations of the conquering army, which again broke out into mutiny upon the conclusion of the Sicilian war. Cæsar showed

great firmness in withstanding their unreasonable demands, at the same time that he indulged those who had either served at Modena, or for ten years, with their discharge giving five hundred drachmas to each, and an allotment of land among the Campanian colonists. One of the military tribunes Ofillius who was among the foremost to foment this spirit of disturbance, and to turn into ridicule some novel and honorary distinctions of dress with which Cæsar thought to gratify his soldiers, was either destroyed or confined so as never to be seen or heard of afterwards. For the payment of the donative to the discharged veterans sixteen hundred talents were immediately raised in Sicily by a tax.

Upon Cæsar's return to Rome, at the age of twenty eight years no bounds were set, except by his own moderation, to the honours which were heaped upon him. Several cities placed him among their gods, and erected altars to him in that character. He courted popularity by remitting all arrears of tribute, and by giving an indemnity to the collectors of taxes and renters of the public domains for whatever residue 716.

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remained unpaid. It is related that still further to ingratiate himself, he professed his design of resigning his power, and of inviting Antony to do the same, after the Parthian war should be concluded; and that the people overjoyed and full of gratitude at this declaration chose him tribune for life.

During the important transactions in Sicily which engaged the whole of Cæsar's attention, Antony's part of the empire was disturbed by an unexpected and hostile aggression of the Parthians. Labienus, a fugitive from Philippi, had persuaded king Orodes to take advantage of the inactivity of Antony, and the disjointed state of the Roman power, by making an irruption into Syria. But though the delights of the Egyptian court continued to engross Antony, as Labienus predicted, his sloth only gave a full opportunity for the great talents of Ventidius his lieutenant to display themselves; and the campaign was soon terminated by a
714. signal victory in which Pacorus the king's son, and Labienus lost their lives. Antiochus king of Commagene received, and put himself at the head of the remains of the Parthian army, and Ventidius was laying

siege to his capital Samosata, when Antony joined his troops and took the command. He became jealous of his lieutenant's fame which formed a striking contrast to his own debauched habits, and never again employed him: but after Antony's death the great services of Ventidius were rewarded with a triumph, deservedly memorable as one of the most striking instances of the mutability of fortune: for it had been his destiny to be led through the same streets loaded with chains as a prisoner, and to form a part of the spectacle in the triumph of Pompeius Strabo after Asculum was captured in the social war. *Chap. XXXIII.*

Failing in the siege of Samosata, Antony came to an accommodation with Antiochus; and returned into Italy to meet Cæsar, leaving C. Sossius in the command of Syria. It was by him that a war against the Jews was successfully terminated by the capture of Jerusalem, into which Antigonus had thrown himself after putting to death the Roman garrison. Dion says that Antony set up one Herod to rule over the Jews after scourging and crucifying Antigonus. The affairs of Parthia fell into great disorder by the death

715. *Bef. Xt.* 37.

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of Pacorus, upon Phraates being declared the successor of his father Orodes, whose undeserved partiality he rewarded by an act of parricide. His brothers shared the same cruel fate; and his best general, Monæces sought shelter for a time under Antony's protection: by the persuasion of this fugitive the Romans were encouraged to recommence hostilities, which were suspended rather than terminated shortly after, through the mediation of the same general acting as a friend to both: Monæces then effected his own return, and was received back with open arms by Phraates.

But Antony, notwithstanding the loss of so important an assistant, continued bent upon the conquest of Parthia; he burned with the desire of inscribing Araxes and Euphates under his statutes, and of acquiring that ample share of popularity which would naturally be the consequence of revenging the defeat of Crassus. He began his operations in Media against Artavasdes the ally of Phraates, and laid siege to Praaspa his capital, which however he was unable to take. The remainder of his campaign was a series of the most dreadful sufferings and disasters.

A crafty and enterprising enemy cut off all the springs of water within the line of his march: the excessive heat in Cappadocia, and the severity of the frost in Armenia were, each in its turn, equally intolerable; while in addition to these terrible vicissitudes of climate the Parthian horse continually hung upon, and harassed his rear, without affording to the legions any opportunity of a regular action. Light armed, but clad in impenetrable mail while they wheeled or seemed retiring in apparent disorder, they shot behind them a sharp sleet of arrows against the face of their pursuers, and became more formidable in their flight than in their charge. One old soldier, who had been made prisoner in Crassus's defeat, contrived by stealth to advise Antony of the intentions of the Parthians, and the defences which they were preparing along the line of his projected return; an entire change of route was the consequence, and it was owing solely to this salutary warning that Antony's expedition ended less fatally than that of Crassus. Out of sixteen legions however he brought back not more than twelve, and the loss of stores, baggage, military ma-

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chines, and every thing else was in a much greater proportion.

The fatigues of this inglorious and unfortunate warfare were compensated, upon Antony's return into Egypt, by the excesses of luxury and sensuality: the fascinating charms of the Queen seemed to make amends for every disappointment. Fallacious accounts had been continually written by him to Rome by which no man even at that distance was deceived; but it is still more extraordinary that Antony should have had the effrontery
718. to celebrate a triumph at Alexandria amidst the witnesses and companions of his failure and misfortunes. He assumed the state and habit of a king, with a crown, sceptre, and cimeter; sometimes even the regal style was too humble; he came forth attired, and chose to be addressed, as the God Bacchus, or Osiris, while Cleopatra personated Isis, or the Moon. Every thing was absolutely at her disposal; he talked of making her Queen of Rome, and allotted kingdoms to her children parcelling out among them Phœnicia, Crete, Cyrene, and Cyprus. He raised Amyntas, who had been secretary to Deiotarus, to the kingdom of Galatia; and,

expelling Ariathes from Cappadocia, he gave that kingdom to Archelaus. Artavasdes the king of Armenia he decoyed into his power by fraud, and loading him with golden chains presented him to Cleopatra. He was desirous of having these extravagant acts of power ratified by the senate, and he professed in his public letter, as a bait for popularity, that he was ready to restore the government to the senate and people.

Cæsar lost no opportunity of exposing Antony's conduct: his preference of foreign dress and manners, the dividing and alienating of the territories belonging to the republic, and above all, his presumption in conducting a triumph through any other streets than those of Rome, were sufficient to render him odious and unpopular without the industry or exaggeration of a rival. A more secret transaction which Cæsar took care to divulge, added much to these unfavourable impressions: it was a copy of Antony's will deposited at Rome with the Vestals, in which he named among his heirs the children whom he had by Cleopatra. In the mean time Octavia was stopped upon her way towards her husband, by his express

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order, accompanied by a notice that she was no longer to consider herself as his wife. The two partners in power at length found themselves arrived at that point towards which their designs had for some time been directed: both were equally ready to throw off the mask of amity, which necessity no longer obliged them to wear; and having no third person who could keep them in check by apprehension, nor reconcile them by the mediation of good offices, they gave an unbridled vent to their rankling and ill dissembled animosity.

As in Julius Cæsar's time the first civil war broke out upon the flight of two tribunes,
720. so the signal for this was the flight of the two consuls Cn. Domitius and C. Sossius to Antony. No impediment was thrown in their way, nor were any others detained or molested who wished to join him; but there was a much larger number of the friends and dependents of Antony who went over to Cæsar, either disgusted with the behaviour of the former, or judging the fortune and hopes of the latter to be more promising. Among these was Plancus, who had made himself notorious even in the Egyptian

court for flattery and servility. In the hope of ingratiating himself with his new friends, he harangued in the senate upon the abominable proceedings of the master whom he had left, and began recounting a multitude of particulars highly discreditable to Antony, when a sarcastic retort from one of the members stopped him, expressing a feigned surprise at the prodigious number of things which Antony had found time to do on the very day before Plancus quitted him.

The senate deprived Antony of the consulate for the year in which it belonged to him according to the arrangement for eight years; and Cæsar had Messala Corvinus for his colleague when he fought the decisive battle of Actium. Appian says that Cicero's son was the other consul during part of that year, and that he read officially the public letter in which Cæsar acquainted the senate and people with the event of that day; but other authorities mention him as substituted in the room of one of the chief magistrates, when the news of Antony's death reached the city in the following year.

That hostilities might commence with

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due solemnity, the Queen of Egypt was declared an enemy, and war was proclaimed against her, to take off the appearance as much as possible, of a new civil war: the chief men in every city of Italy associated, and bound themselves by oaths to the cause of Cæsar. All however was not quiet nor sound within the heart of the empire: tumults, murders, and fires disturbed the tranquillity of Rome, which were imputed to the discontent of the freedmen, upon whom a tax had been imposed amounting to one eighth of their whole property, while free born citizens contributed only one fourth of their annual income. Military force was found necessary to suppress them; and the soldiers having no feelings in common with the assassins and incendiaries upon these points did not shrink from their duty. Cæsar's troops had been inured by this time to discipline under his own eye, in subduing the hardy tribes which had revolted in Dalmatia, Illyricum, and Pannonia; he himself had gained experience and reputation as a commander by his victories in those countries, and by nothing more eminently than by withstanding the demands of his mutinous legions for do-

natives and discharges, which they seldom failed to renew whenever there was a prospect of demanding with effect.

When the sea and land forces which were to contend for the mastery of the world came in contact in Epirus, the first experiments of relative strength prognosticated the ultimate result. Leucas was stormed, Patræ taken, Corinth occupied by Agrippa in defiance and within sight of Antony's fleet, which was itself worsted in two partial actions. In the third, which was fought off the promontory of Actium, the event might have been doubtful if Antony had done justice to the courage and determination of his men; but as soon as he saw Cleopatra with her division taking to flight, like a man controlled by some irresistible impulse he pursued her flying sails, and deserted those who continued obstinately to maintain his cause long after he had turned his back upon them. The great ability of Agrippa in managing his lighter and lower ships against those which were far superior in strength and elevation, was not less conspicuous, than it had been at Mylæ in conducting his more bulky vessels against the lighter fleet of Pompey. Fire

721. Bef. Xt. 31.

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which was brought from the camp by Cæsar's order at last decided the day; and the turreted decks of his adversary became the fuel of the combustible arrows and balls which were discharged into them. None of Cæsar's ships had more than six banks of oars; the largest of Antony's carried nine or ten; the whole number however of Cæsar's fleet consisted of four hundred sail, which exceeded Antony's by one half; but Plutarch reckons the number to have been larger on each side.

Canidius, who had the command by land, withdrew precipitately from the camp to follow his chief; and the army surrendered to Cæsar. The moderation and humanity with which he tempered this signal victory did him great honour; for none lost their lives after the battle except those few who would not condescend to ask for favour.

When Antony overtook the Queen's ship he went on board, but remained three days without seeing or speaking to her. The first port which they made for was Tænarus, where they landed together: from thence she returned into her kingdom, and Antony went into different parts of Africa for

the purpose of raising fresh forces. He endeavoured to draw the king of Media into his alliance; but kings and nobles whom he had raised and enriched fell from him, while he found attachment and fidelity in a band of ill treated gladiators at Cyzicus, who endeavoured valiantly to fight their way through the country to join him. Fresh discontents and symptoms of mutiny in the victorious army distracted Cæsar's attention, and prevented him from pressing upon the fugitives. He was obliged to follow into Italy the first division of his veterans where he endeavoured to satisfy their demands; but all that he could raise by contribution, and the whole that he confiscated as belonging to the Antonians fell short of his wants: he had recourse to the ostentatious expedient of offering for sale in the forum his own property, and that of his intimate friends, as if it would have been safe for any one to buy it! After accommodating or putting off as well as he could these urgent calls, discharging a part, and promising much more, within twenty seven days he returned into Greece, and using the same activity and despatch he drew his fleet

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across the isthmus, and landed with surprising celerity in Asia, directing his march through Syria, towards Egypt. The two keys of that kingdom Pelusium and Parætorium surrendered to him without resistance.

In Antony's conduct there were irregular bursts of resolution and depression, at one time sending proud defiances to his rival, at another proposing the humblest terms of submission; though in these he seemed careless about his own life, and solicitous only for the Queen's. The last gleam of good fortune shone upon and deceived him in an engagement with Cæsar's cavalry: but in the next battle all was lost; and the Egyptian fleet, his last dependence either for continuing the war or for escaping into Spain, deserted him. Cleopatra shut herself up with three female attendants in a mausoleum which she was building near the Temple of Isis, and barricading all the approaches suffered no one to enter. She ordered it to be reported to Antony that she was dead; upon which, his determination as to his own life was instantly taken and he fell upon his own sword. There was just time before he expired, for the Queen and

722. Bef. Xt. 30.

her attendants to draw him up with ropes into the mausoleum, and he breathed his last in her arms. Chap. XXXIII.

Dion directly charges Cleopatra with betraying Antony: he asserts that she clandestinely sent her sceptre, crown, and throne to Cæsar, and that she received in return assurances of forgiveness, and even of retaining her kingdom, if she would compass Antony's death: that Pelusium made no resistance by her express order: that she admitted a message from Cæsar, and gave credit to it, containing professions of his admiration of her personal charms: that she put her navy into Cæsar's power when Antony was preparing to set his last stake upon it; and to conclude the tissue of this fraud and perfidy, that she gave out the story of her death solely for the purpose of driving Antony to destroy himself. Appian's history, though it probably closed with this event as the termination of the civil wars, is not preserved beyond the fate of S. Pompey. Plutarch says that Antony himself, upon the defection of her fleet, accused her of treachery. The Roman historians, Suetonius, Velleius, and Florus enter into no

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detail as to her motives or conduct. Certain it is that no enemy whether open or secret could more effectually have ruined Antony, than Cleopatra did: but reasoning upon those passions which may be assigned as the main springs of her actions, the love of pleasure, the love of admiration, and the love of power, it is difficult to imagine which of them she should hope to gratify by sacrificing Antony. It may be answered, that an excess of vanity, or an inconceivable levity led her to reason erroneously, or not to reason at all upon the consequences of her measures; and that in a character full of variety and talent, but devoid of principle, there are no assignable limits to the extent of caprice and inconsistency. Experience gave her a right to place great reliance upon the power of her personal attractions; and to captivate a third master of the world might certainly be no mean object of her ambition; but what means had she of access to Cæsar, or what opportunities of counteracting his known passion for Livia? If she made no scruple of betraying Antony, why did she hesitate to obey Cæsar's private instructions for compassing his death? Her court was not so

pure as to be without some minister or favourite who would have been ready to imitate Pothinus, for the sake of ingratiating himself with a new master. Cæsar saw her but once; and in the interview which is related to have passed between the two greatest dissemblers in the world, she appears to have had the advantage of her conqueror, and to have given him an impression that she was attached to her life, her children, and her jewels, and that she was a woman whom he might cajole, and keep alive for the grand pageant of his triumphal entry into Rome. She was allowed to celebrate Antony's obsequies: but the vigilance with which she was watched to prevent her following his example, could not escape her penetration. Her ingenuity, not unprepared for the worst, had been directed towards experiments in poisons and the power of venomous reptiles, for the purpose of discovering the speediest and easiest mode of death; and so complete was her success, that she not only effected the bringing into her guarded chamber the instrument of her destruction, whatever it was, but that her corpse without the smallest sign of convul-

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sion or violence, resembled a state of deep sleep rather than of death. The story of an asp conveyed in a basket of figs or flowers obtained the greatest currency: and her effigy carried in Cæsar's triumph had an asp upon the arm: but no such animal was found in the chamber; and if there were punctures upon the Queen's arm they were without swelling or inflammation. Cæsario the reputed son of his great uncle Julius by Cleopatra, and Antyllus Fulvia's eldest son by Antony were put to death by Cæsar, the latter with the aggravation of being dragged from the statue of Julius about which he clung as a suppliant. The Queen's children by Antony, being under age, were protected and taken care of by Cæsar; and his nieces the two Antonias, daughters of his sister Octavia, by their subsequent marriages with Drusus, and Domitius Ahenobarbus, raised the descendants of Antony to the sovereignty of Rome in two lines, the last of which became, too late, extinct in the person of Nero.

It is not likely that Cæsar entertained any serious thoughts of restoring the commonwealth; but it is very probable that he con-

sulted his friends about it, and desired them to give him their opinions without reserve, which are set forth in great detail and excellently argued by Dion. This was a popular topic to keep in view; even the military, who had contributed so much to subvert the constitution, were fond of the name; and Antony took an oath before his soldiers that, if he conquered, he would re-establish it within two months. But if Cæsar had entertained dispositions really favourable to this object, his own experience and reflection must have taught him that the materials out of which alone a free state can be constructed and supported were wanting; and he therefore perhaps conferred the greatest benefit upon his country which it was at that time capable of receiving, by using that power which he had obtained by the most questionable means, with moderation and justice. The fatal error of Julius gave a lesson to his nephew not to desire the titles and trappings of royalty: consuls continued nominally to perform the functions of executive government, and he himself bore that office thirteen times. The title of dictator, which was pressed upon him, he protested earnestly

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against, and persevered in never accepting; though Florus asserts that it was actually conferred upon him for life. What was much more important and unattended by envy or jealousy was the tribunitial power, which he certainly held as in perpetuity; and in quality of prefect of morals or controller of laws and manners, he kept a superintending check, not unknown to the constitution, over all those minuter actions and modes of life which cannot be the objects of written law, but may have much more extensive influence over a community than a whole code of legislative enactments. For what reason he did not take upon himself the office of censor rather than this prefecture which was of much later creation, does not appear; Suetonius says, that the former had been disused for many years, until he thought fit to revive it, though not in his own person; while Dion affirms that he was actually censor with Agrippa for his colleague. The most material functions of that office he undoubtedly exercised, such as taking the register, and expelling or introducing senators. Julius had set the example of assuming the superintendence and

control of manners, without holding the regular office belonging to it; but it seems more consonant to Augustus's caution to have preserved the old denomination, reviving all its former powers, and imperceptibly increasing them.

At the end of a long series of sanguinary struggles, the people naturally felt desirous of repose, and well inclined to submit to a temperate but firm government, which would protect without oppressing them. The republican party, if they argued rationally, must have been convinced that the death of Julius, instead of regenerating the commonwealth, plunged it into endless distresses and calamities: three tyrants started up in the place of one, while the last and best of the true Romans fell in the ineffectual combat for freedom. It was not for ordinary men to revive and reanimate a cause in which Brutus and Cassius had failed; in fact the vital principle of liberty seemed utterly spent in the field of Philippi, and the republic was left without a party, while Cæsar and Antony divided or contested the dominion of the world.

The long life of Cæsar, and the almost

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uninterrupted tranquillity of his reign during nearly half a century, gave consistency and the stamp of usage to the few changes which he introduced: the affected desire of retiring from the cares of government, which he renewed at stated intervals, conferred upon his power the character of a charge pressed upon him by the senate and people, rather than of an authority usurped from them. If he was inferior to his great uncle in extent of talent and grandeur of character, he yielded neither to him nor to any other in solidity of parts and maturity of judgment, conforming his government with admirable dexterity to the temper of the times, and leading the opinions of mankind with no less adroitness to conform to his government. The way in which he used power made some amends for the means by which he acquired it; and the latter half of his life exhibited one of the rare examples of a prince changed for the better by having all things at his disposal. By these means, and with materials apparently little calculated for duration, he effected a radical and permanent alteration in the whole frame and system of the constitution, and among a

people who held the title of king in abhorrence, he struck out and perfected a scheme of power ten times more despotic than that of their kings, which all the vices and follies of his successors could not subvert; and although the intolerable tyranny of some of them, and the detestable enormities of others were sometimes visited upon their own heads, the fabric of monarchical dominion consolidated by the wisdom of his maxims remained unshaken for centuries.

THE END

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P. 18, marginal date, *for* 751 *read* 715.

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P. 215, *for* Lucca *read* Luca.

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BENSLEY AND SONS, PRINTERS,
Bolt Court, Fleet Street.

00029950

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 21 October, 2015